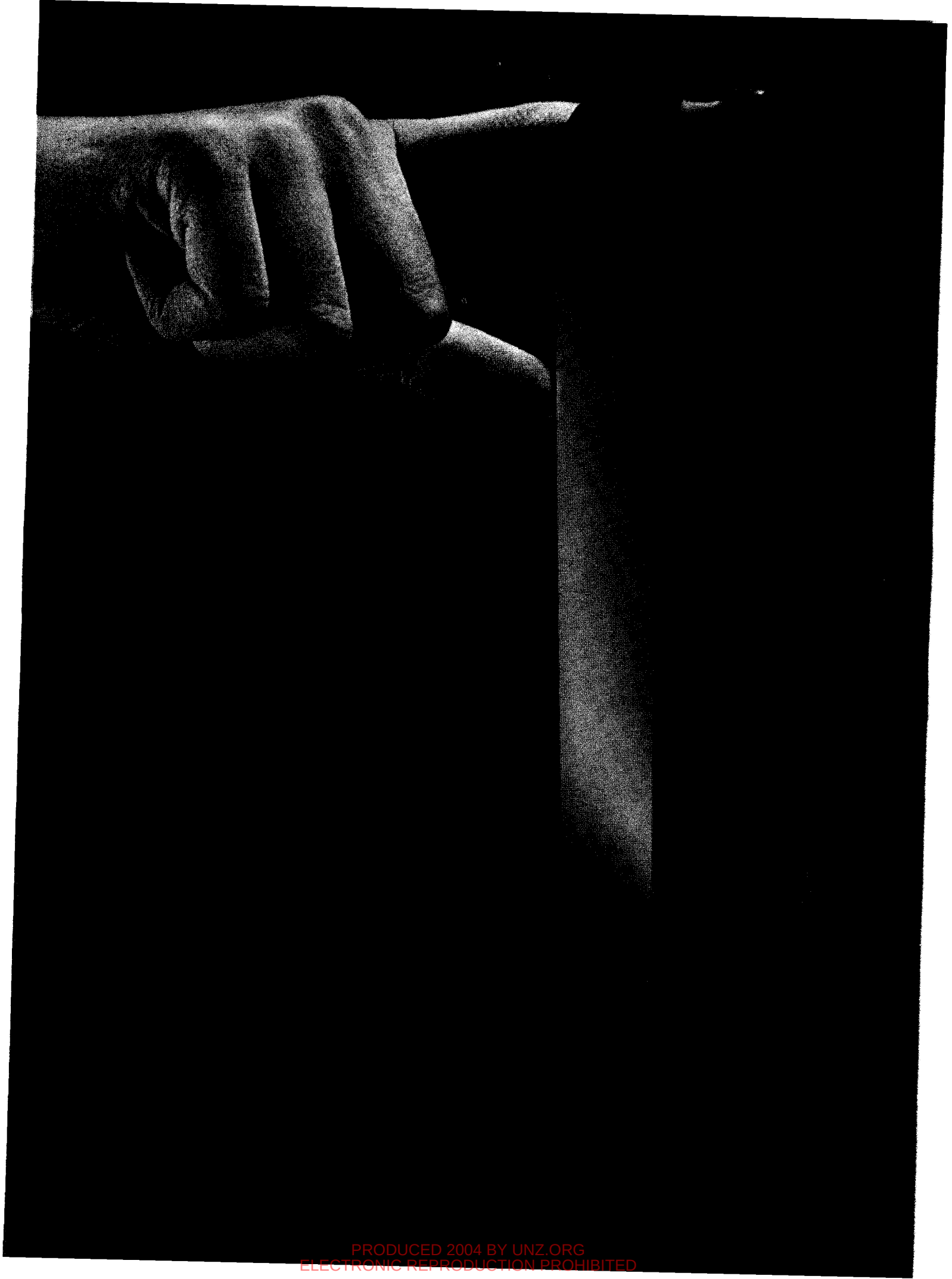
The Havana Conference

March 24, 1966 35¢

CHICAGO'S SCHOLARLY COP

THE REPORTER

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This little loop of tape weighs 8½ pounds.

How come?

Space age scientists want to record all sorts of fantastic things. Like how a house reacts to being blown to smithereens in a nuclear explosion. Or what happens when a missile crashes into armor plate at twice the speed of sound. All of which has helped make the great engineers of Borg-Warner Controls Division stars of the nation's most far out recording industry.

IN THIS AGE of space flight and supersonic speeds, crazy things can happen to weights. And it's all a matter of gravity.

Right now, for instance, gravity is holding you in your chair at a force that's called *one G*. But if you happened to be an astronaut being fired into space, the rapid acceleration of your rocket would *magnify* the power of gravity as much as *eleven times*. This would put you under a force of *eleven G's*. Which is just another way to say you'd weigh eleven times your normal weight. The more G's you're under, the more you weigh. And that's how a little loop of tape that *really* weighs only .65 grams can *really* weigh 8½ pounds—its weight is being magnified 6,000 times by a force of 6,000 G's.

Which brings us to the engineers of Borg-Warner Controls Division. They've made quite a reputation for themselves by building tape recorders that can record right through thousands of G's of punishment—and live to tell about it.

One of their recorders, installed in a guided missile, records through a 1500 G impact. Another is used in NASA's huge Saturn rocket that will carry our astronauts to the moon. This machine withstands all the stress of 18,000 mph flight while playing back 144,000 signals per second without a hitch.

There are dozens of other Borg-Warner Controls tape recorders orbiting the earth right now. They are capable of storing up an hour and a half's worth of information as they circle the globe—waiting to disgorge it in seconds flat when they pass over tracking stations. Some of the subjects these machines record are so secret that the great engineers themselves don't know *who* uses them to record *what*.

It's not easy to build machines that will perform reliably enough to do jobs like these. And not *every* machine can take it. That's why every single orbital tape recorder built by Borg-Warner Controls must go through no less than 100 hours of brutal testing before it gets its wings. Many have survived shocks as high as 6,000 G's.

But thanks to this kind of perfectionism, Borg-Warner Controls is now a leader in the complex business of building high-shock tape recorders. Which isn't so shocking at all when you consider how good they are at it.

AUTOMOTIVE, HOME & BUILDER, CHEMICAL & STEEL AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS. ©1966, BORG-WARNER CORPORATION, 200 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILL. 60604

BORG-WARNER®
The great engineers

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IMPORTANT NEW RANDOM HOUSE BOOKS

Truman Capote
IN COLD BLOOD
$5.95

James A. Michener
THE SOURCE
$7.95

John O'Hara
THE LOCKWOOD CONCERN
$5.95

Jim Bishop
JIM BISHOP: REPORTER
$6.95

James Farmer
FREEDOM—WHEN?
$4.95

Now at your bookstore
RANDOM HOUSE
457 Madison Ave., N.Y. 10022

THE REPORTER

THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, *Editor and Publisher*

Executive Editor, Philip Horton *Managing Editor,* Donald A. Allan
Senior Editor, Derek Morgan *Washington Editor,* Meg Greenfield
Art Director, Reg Massie *Literary Editor,* Nora Magid
Associate Editor: Robert Cowley *Copy Editor:* Elizabeth Stille
Writers: Claire Sterling, Edmond Taylor, George Bailey, Denis Warner
Staff: Elizabeth Parsons (*Asst. to the Editor*), Louisa Messolonghites (*Asst. to Mng. Ed.*), Ruth Ames (*Librarian*), John A. Anderson, Jr., Lee Culpepper, Elizabeth N. Layne
General Manager, John J. Borghi
Circulation Manager, George Hinckley *Director of Advertising,* Roger J. Lederer
Director of Promotion, Shirley Katzander *Production Manager,* Rudolph Ford
Controller, Anthony E. Lanza *Asst. Circ. Mgr.,* Natalie Schwalb
Published by The Reporter Magazine Company, Nathan W. Levin, President

VOLUME 34, NO. 6 **MARCH 24, 1966**

THE REPORTER'S NOTES 14

ON HAWKS AND DOVES—AN EDITORIAL . . . . . *Max Ascoli* 24

Ninety Miles Off Florida

THE HAVANA CONFERENCE . . . . . *Paul D. Bethel* 25

At Home & Abroad

CHICAGO'S SCHOLARLY COP . . . . . *Hal Bruno* 30

AFRICA'S OFFICERS TAKE COMMAND . . . . . *W. Arthur Lewis* 33

CANADA'S BOLD DEFENSE EXPERIMENT . . . . . *Frederick Nossal* 36

CO-ORDINATING THE GREAT SOCIETY . . . . . *Stephen K. Bailey* 39

THE DELTA: RICH LAND AND POOR PEOPLE . . . . . *Foster Davis* 41

CARTOON . . . . . *Fernando Krahn* 44

Views & Reviews

RESOLUTIONS FOR 1934 . . . . . *Dylan Thomas* 45

A CONFLAGRATION IN THE SOUL . . . . . *Alfred Werner* 47

WALKING WITH A YOUNG GRANDSON (VERSE) . . . . . *Chad Walsh* 48

OF HUMAN BADINAGE . . . . . *Gerald Weales* 49

MEDITERRANEAN GOETTERDAEMMERUNG . . . . . *Roland Gelatt* 50

Books:

WHEN TWO SHIPS RULED THE WAVES . . . . . *Aileen Ward* 53

ORANGES, BIRDS AND CRYSTALS . . . . . *Santha Rama Rau* 54

DIVINE SPARK . . . . . *Andrew M. Greeley* 56

THE REPORTER PUZZLE 55

THE REPORTER, March 24, 1966, Volume 34, No. 6. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York, and at Dayton, Ohio. Published every other Thursday except for omission of two summer issues by The Reporter Magazine Company, 660 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021. © 1966 by The Reporter Magazine Company. All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention. Subscription prices, United States and U. S. Possessions: One year $7, Two years $11, Three years $14. Additional postage for Canada and Pan-American Union, $.50 per year; all other countries, $1.00 per year. Please give four weeks' notice when changing address, giving old and new address. **Send notice of undelivered copies on Form 3579 to: The Reporter, McCall St., Dayton, Ohio 45401.** Indexed in *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Manuscripts or artwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork.
Editorial and Business Office: 660 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021; Phone: TEmpleton 2-8800.
Washington Office: 1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006; (202) 298-8186.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Research Submersibles: A report from General Dynamics

New breed of vessel:

A hundred and thirty feet down in the Aegean Sea, a Byzantine galley had hidden its secrets for almost fifteen centuries. Then in 1964, University of Pennsylvania Museum archeologists mounted paired cameras on a new research submarine, Asherah, and learned more from the three-dimensional photographs obtained in one "flight" over the wreck than had been possible from weeks of scuba diving.

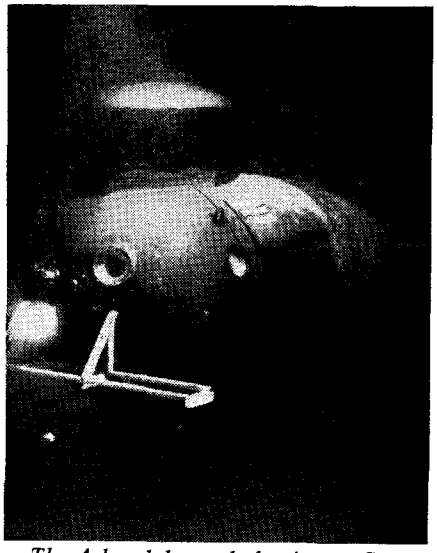
This was the first of dozens of undersea jobs already done by Asherah. The Asherah is the 339th—and at 17 feet long, the smallest—submarine built by General Dynamics. For comparison, the Holland, the very first submarine we delivered to the Navy in 1900, was 54 feet long. Over the years, we have built the prototypes of most classes of United States Navy submarines, including its nuclear-powered undersea ships.

But the true manned research submarines are really a new breed of boat. Less than a score now exist.

Depth and mobility:

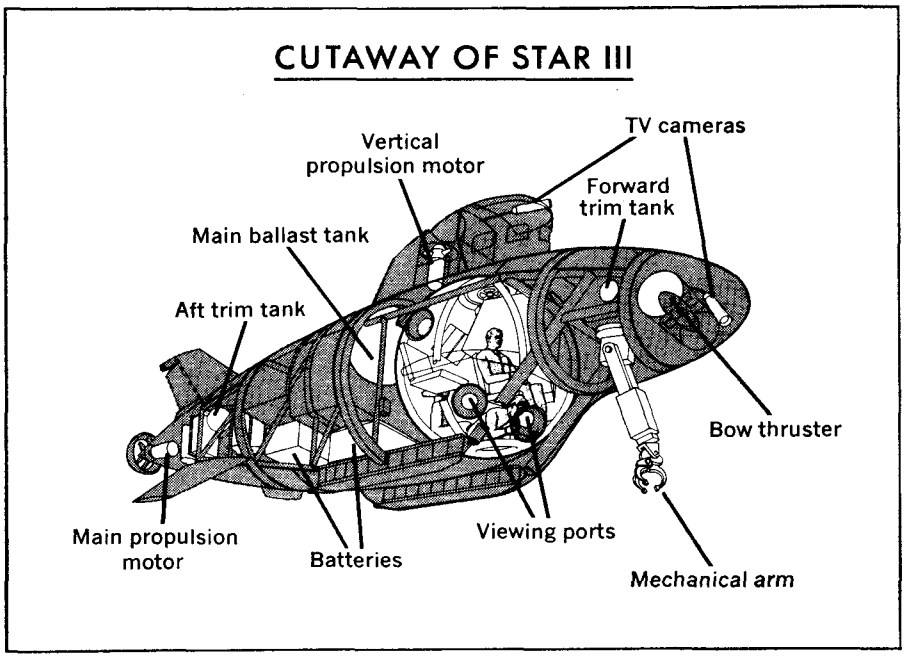
Unlike bathyscaphes, designed to drop to great depths but remain relatively immobile for passive observation, the new research submarines must have depth capability, the ability to perform useful work, and the mobility to survey extended areas at a reasonable speed.

Asherah is one of the first true research submarines. It can dive to 600 feet (World War II subs rarely dived much below 300 feet), stay submerged for ten hours, cruise at three to four knots, move in all directions. An improved sister ship, Star II, is made of the same HY-80 steel that goes into nuclear submarines; it has depth capability to 1,200 feet.



The Asherah beneath the Aegean Sea.

A larger boat we call Star III (see cutaway drawing below) is built of even tougher HY-100 steel. It has a cruising depth of 2,000 feet, and is equipped with an external mechanical arm that has interchangeable "hands"—a clamshell grip, a wire cutter, and a "three-finger" which can pick up a pencil or a 200-pound weight, or manipulate a valve.



The Aluminaut, the largest research sub so far, was built by General Dynamics for Reynolds International to prove, among other things, the feasibility of aluminum as a hull metal. The 51-foot Aluminaut is designed to operate at depths up to 15,000 feet, under pressures up to more than 7,000 pounds per square inch. Aluminaut, in early sea trials, has cruised as deep as 6,250 feet, and remained submerged for over 30 continuous hours. A World War II military submarine rarely remained submerged for more than 24 hours.

Problems and needs:

These early research subs still have many limitations of speed, range and submerged endurance. They require back-up by a mother ship and have to be carried or towed to a job location.

This last "limitation" can sometimes be an advantage. Asherah and Star II, for example, are small enough to be rushed by air for a rescue operation.

But subs with many special characteristics will be needed for exploring—and for exploiting—the sea.

Some vessels will have to withstand pressures up to 10,000 pounds per square inch, to allow them to penetrate into mid-ocean abysses four miles deep. Work subs for, say, mining will have to be stable enough in a buoyant environment not to be whipped about in reaction to the force of their own tools.

We have already done a study for the Bureau of Fisheries showing feasibility of a submarine to track oceanic fish. It would be 160 feet long, carry 31 persons at speeds up to 20 knots, and could cruise submerged for up to 90 days.

Right now, we don't think there will ever be one single all-purpose type of research-work submarine. Just as land vehicles range from motor scooters to 20-ton earthmovers, so will most manned submersibles be designed and built for special purposes.

General Dynamics is a company of scientists, engineers and skilled workers whose interests cover every major field of technology, and who produce: aircraft; marine, space and missile systems; tactical support equipment; nuclear, electronic and communication systems; machinery; building materials; coal and gases.

GENERAL DYNAMICS

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTHUR F. BURNS

Former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers speaks on

THE MANAGEMENT OF PROSPERITY

Mr. Burns' analysis of our longest sustained economic expansion is particularly timely in view of the apparent conflict between the Federal Reserve Board and the Johnson Administration as to what constitutes sound fiscal policy. His words on inflation, job opportunities, minimum wage laws, and persistent unemployment in the midst of prosperity are most instructive. *A Carnegie Institute of Technology Publication.* $3.50

Related books from the National Bureau of Economic Research

THE MEASUREMENT AND INTERPRETATION OF JOB VACANCIES

Some guidelines to understanding the relation between unemployment and existing job vacancies: needs for and uses of data, experimental vacancy surveys, and alternative measurement approaches. Charts and tables. 600 pp. $12.50

OUTPUT, EMPLOYMENT, AND PRODUCTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES AFTER 1800

Output growth is discussed under five headings: 1) consumption, investment, and employment; 2) final product output; 3) minerals and fuels; 4) power and machines; 5) sources of productivity change. Over 200 tables and charts. 674 pp. $12.50

FOREIGN TAX POLICIES AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

The contributions of tax policy to postwar economic development in the U.K., Sweden, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, and the Netherlands. 496 pp. $10.00

At better bookstores, or order from

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
2960 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10027

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

THERE IS enormous talk of hawks and doves in this unending Great Debate. According to **Max Ascoli,** they are overinflated metaphors, dangerous among other reasons because of their tendency—together with "escalation," etc.—to reduce our language to a basic English of baby talk. At the very least, the contraposition of these two mythical entities is to be considered as an evidence of mental disorder.

IT COSTS the Soviet Union more than $1.3 million a day to support Castro's Cuba, but it may be getting its money's worth in creating, at some additional cost, increasing trouble for the United States and the Latin-American nations. In January, Havana was the scene of a conference of Asian, African, and Latin-American Communists and their sympathizers from which emerged a Soviet-backed program for stepped-up subversion and guerrilla warfare throughout Latin America. Although the event received scant attention in the U.S. press, the documentation collected by **Paul D. Bethel** from European and Latin-American newspapers and monitored broadcasts from Havana, Moscow, and Peking shows that the conference was not just a Soviet move to undercut Chinese influence in the three continents. It also marked a new hard-line policy aimed at creating some more Vietnams in the Americas. Bethel, who was press attaché at the U.S. embasy in Havana at the time of Castro's revolution, is executive director of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, Inc.

CHICAGO has been a safer place since O. W. Wilson came to town in 1960 to reorganize the former crime capital's police force. Wonder of wonders, the criminology professor from Berkeley has been able to do the job without instituting a civilian review board or losing the respect of the Negro community. The report by **Hal Bruno,** Chicago bureau chief for *Newsweek,* brings up to date our 1960 article on Wilson's first reforms. . . . **Sir Arthur Lewis** is exceptionally qualified to put the trend of African military coups into perspective. He has been an adviser to the governments of Ghana and Western Nigeria, a deputy managing director of the United Nations Special Fund, and a member of the U.N. Group of Experts on Underdeveloped Countries. Since 1963 he has been a professor of Economics and International Affairs at Princeton University. . . . In a move expected to bring increased efficiency and save millions of dollars, Canada's armed forces will soon become the world's first unified military establishment, with a single command, service, and uniform. **Frederick Nossal** is a writer for the Toronto *Globe and Mail.* . . . The President's vast new programs are suffering from a shortage of trained administrators and unclear lines of responsibility. **Stephen K. Bailey,** dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, recently studied the problem for the Bureau of the Budget. . . . The rich cotton-growing district of the Delta in Mississippi is experiencing a new militancy among Negro tenant farmers and laborers that has more to do with economics than civil rights. **Foster Davis** is a reporter for the Greenville *Delta Democrat-Times.* . . . **Fernando Krahn** is at it again with signs of the times.

Dylan Thomas was nineteen when he wrote the typically self-conscious and unself-conscious, wild and controlled love letter of which a part is published for the first time in this issue. It will be included in the *Selected Letters of Dylan Thomas,* edited by Constantine FitzGibbon, to be published by New Directions. . . . **Alfred Werner's** critique precedes a major Turner exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York from March 23 to May 22. . . . **Chad Walsh,** who teaches at Beloit College in Wisconsin, has two grandsons and a very recent granddaughter. . . . The knells that have been tolled for Tennessee Williams are premature, according to **Gerald Weales.** Mr. Weales has completed a study of the playwright for the University of Minnesota series of pamphlets on American writers. . . . **Roland Gelatt** is the editor of *High Fidelity.* . . . **Aileen Ward,** who teaches at Brandeis, won the 1964 National Book Award for Arts and Letters for *John Keats: The Making of a Poet* (Viking). . . . A musical adaptation of **Santha Rama Rau's** novella, *Softly,* is scheduled for production on Broadway next fall. . . . **The Rev. Andrew M. Greeley,** senior study director at the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, comments on Muriel Spark, whose *The Mandelbaum Gate* has just been awarded the James Tait Black Memorial Prize, given annually for the best English novel of the year.

Our Havana cover is by **Gregorio Prestopino.**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AN EXCITING OFFER FOR DISCRIMINATING READERS

Ranging from psychology, myth, law and philosophy to a massive set surveying the world's major religions, these distinguished reference volumes are indicative of the high quality of selections that are available to members of the Book Find Club. These are books of current interest and lasting value—books that will make precious additions to your home library.

To receive the two sets of your choice for just $4.95, you need only agree to take four more books in the coming year from among the many Selections and Alternates that will be offered to you month by month. In addition to the savings you enjoy on every book offered by the club, you will receive bonus credit for each book or record you purchase after completing the introductory agreement. Whenever you have three such credits, we will mail you a certificate that can be redeemed for a FREE book of your choice from our extensive list of bonus selections.

Take advantage of this unusual opportunity today. Simply fill out and return the coupon to us. You can receive as many as 10 volumes with an immediate savings of up to $40.50.

ANY 2
OF THESE VALUABLE REFERENCE WORKS
FOR ONLY $4.95

(as many as 10 volumes . . . combined retail values to $45.45)

283. GREAT RELIGIONS OF MODERN MAN: Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism. A massive home library presenting the meanings and contemporary significance of the world's major faiths—with extensive selections from their great writings. **Retail $24.00**

305. THE WORLD OF PSYCHOLOGY. Exploring the whole range of motives underlying man's behavior — his perceptions, myths, dreams, fears; his love, hate, and guilt; his ventures into self-discovery—this massive compendium of theories, case studies, and works from world literature contains essential writings by Plato, Freud, Dostoevsky, Jung, Nietzsche, Kafka, Huxley, Fromm, Sartre, and more than 70 other foremost writers. **Retail $17.50**

323. THE MASKS OF GOD: Primitive, Oriental, and Occidental Mythology. *Joseph Campbell.* The oldest truths of man's inner life seen in the light of a new science to which psychology, anthropology, and archaeology contribute. **Retail $21.45**

267. THE WORLD OF LAW. *Edited by Ephraim London. From* the writings of judges and lawyers, novelists, playwrights, philosophers and prophets, an exciting library of literature about and in law. Among the 90 authors represented are Douglas, Camus, Hand, Faulkner, Brandeis, Miller, Cervantes, Frankfurter, Gandhi, James, Rabelais, Swift, Shaw, Zola and Holmes. **Retail $17.50**

309. THE AMERICAN IMAGE. *Edited by Ernest R. May.* **Society, Foreign Policy, Political Process, Economy.** A basic 4-volume library of significant writings on American Civilization — from Jefferson and Lincoln, to Roosevelt and Kennedy, from Twain and James to Reisman and Baldwin. **Retail $20.00**

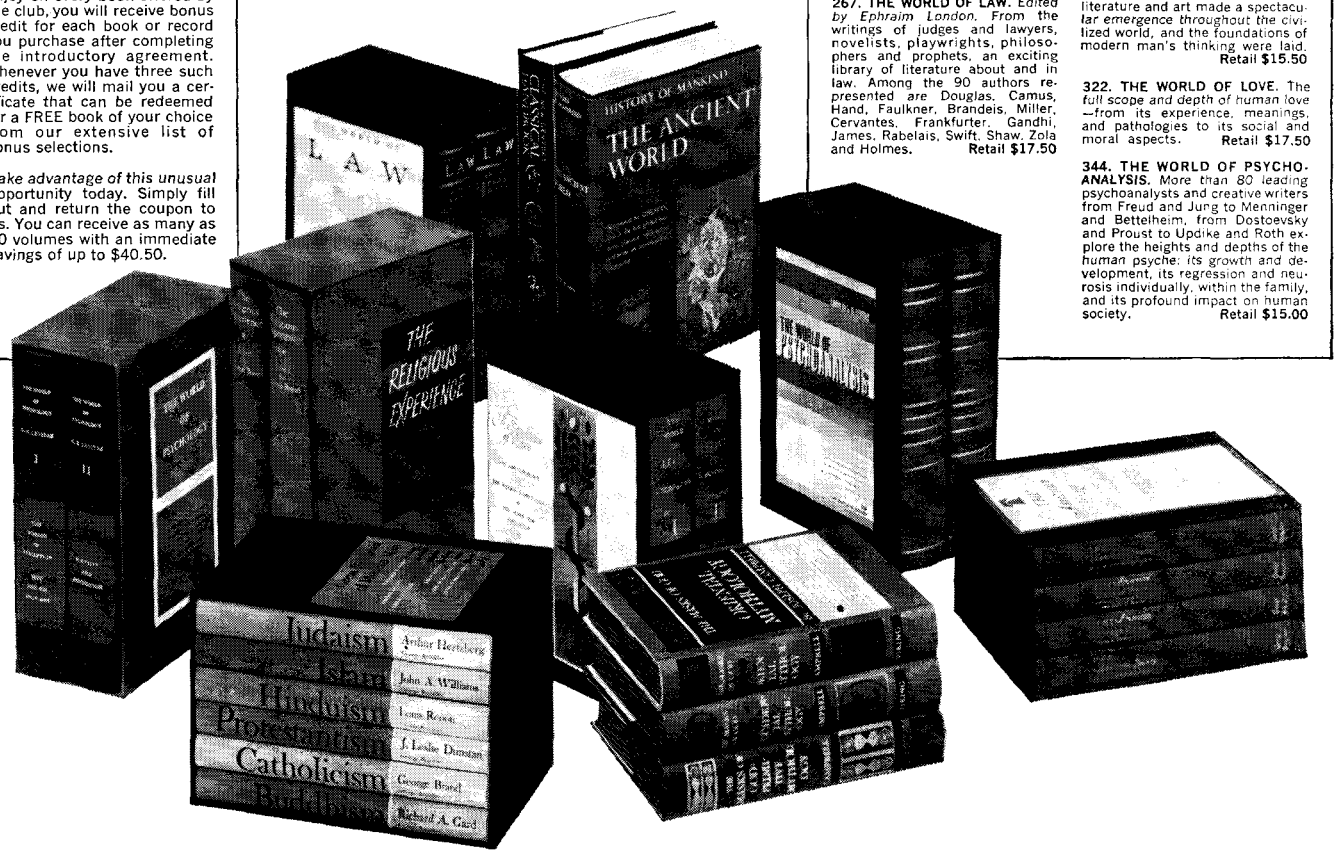
337. THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. The encounter of man and his gods vividly etched in 130 writings by philosophers, theologians, novelists, psychologists and poets. From sin and satanism to agnosticism, atheism, and the death of God — the whole range of human religious experience. **Retail $17.50**

297. THE NEW CENTURY CLASSICAL HANDBOOK. An authoritative guide to the great personalities, *ideas and accomplishments of classical* Greece and Rome. Over 6000 entries, *1162 pages 7½" x 10". 214 pages of photographs and line drawings.* **Retail $15.00**

346. THE ANCIENT WORLD. **Luigi Pareti, Paolo Brezzi, and Luciano Petech.** A panorama of man's cultural and scientific progress between 1200 B.C. and 500 A.D. when literature and art made a spectacular *emergence throughout the civilized* world, and the foundations of modern man's thinking were laid. **Retail $15.50**

322. THE WORLD OF LOVE. The *full scope and depth of human love* —from its experience, meanings, and pathologies to its social and moral aspects. **Retail $17.50**

344. THE WORLD OF PSYCHOANALYSIS. *More than 80 leading* psychoanalysts and creative writers from Freud and Jung to Menninger and Bettelheim, from Dostoevsky and Proust to Updike and Roth explore the heights and depths of the *human psyche: its growth and development*, its regression and neurosis individually, within the family, and its profound impact on human society. **Retail $15.00**



OUTSTANDING RECENT SELECTIONS

Manchild in the Promised Land, Claude Brown. Retail $5.95 ..... Member's price $4.95

Southern Justice, Leon Friedman. Retail $5.95 ..... Member's price $4.95

The Therapeutic Nightmare, Morton Mintz. Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $5.50

The High Valley, Kenneth E. Read. Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $5.50

The Voices Of Time, J. T. Fraser. Retail $12.50 ..... Member's price $6.95

The New Radicalism In America, Christopher Lasch. Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $5.50

The Philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre. For the first time in any language, a comprehensive selection of the basic writings of Sartre. Retail $7.95 ..... Member's price $5.95

The Words, Jean-Paul Sartre; and **The Heart of Man,** Erich Fromm. *Combined retail price* $8.95 Member's price (for both books) $5.95

Dog Years, Günter Grass. Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $5.95

The Vital Balance: *The Life Process in Mental Health and Illness.* Karl Menninger. Retail $10.00 ..... Member's price $6.95

The Fate of Man, edited by Crane Brinton. Including *Plato, Aquinas, Nietzsche, Freud,* Toynbee, Kant, Huxley, and others. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $4.95

The City in History, Lewis Mumford. Retail $11.50 ..... Member's price $6.95

Coming of Age in America, E. Z. Friedenberg. *Retail $5.95* Member's price $4.95

The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell. Retail $10.00 ..... Member's price $5.95

Identity and Anxiety: *Survival of the Person in Mass Society.* A massive compendium of studies by Mead, May, Orwell, Rosenberg, *Richards, Howe, Jaspers, Mills, and more.* Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $5.50

THE BOOK FIND CLUB, INC.

One Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

Please enroll me as a member of the Book Find Club and send the two reference works indicated, by number, in the boxes (□□) billing me for only $4.95 (plus a small charge for postage and handling). I agree to buy four books in the coming year from among the wide range of Selections and Alternates that will be made available to me at membership savings. I may cancel my membership at any time after buying these four books. If I continue as a member I will earn a bonus credit with each additional purchase, and for every three credits, I will receive a certificate that can be redeemed for a FREE book of my choice from the bonus selection list.

INDICATE BY NO. REFERENCE WORKS CHOSEN

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

B66-3R-2

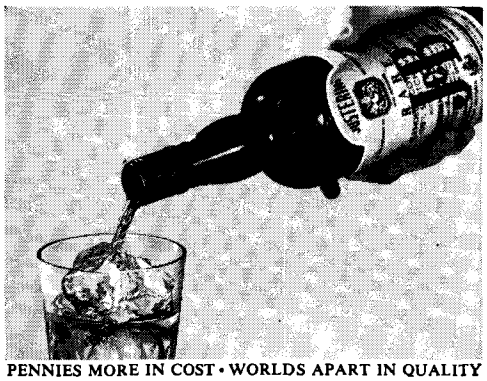
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Describe the flavour of J&B scotch?

Difficult? *Impossible!*

What we *can* say about the flavour of J&B scotch is that it is, really, very, very special. So special, in fact, that this precious blend, with its noble "marriage" of many aristocratic scotches, has become one of America's most-asked-for brands. Significant and, it seems to us, well worth a try if only for that reason.

Justerini & Brooks ship it to us. 217-year-old Justerini & Brooks which counted Charles Dickens among its many eminent patrons and which guards the unique quality of J&B with fierce British determination.



PENNIES MORE IN COST • WORLDS APART IN QUALITY

The others are not J&B rare scotch

SEND FOR 3-VOLUME SET OF DICKENS' CLASSICS—only $1.00
Handsome, hard-cover library editions. Titles: *A Christmas Carol, A Tale of Two Cities, David Copperfield.* All 3, only $1 postpaid. Write J & B Dickens Library, P.O. Box 180, Cliffside Park, N.J. 07010. Dept. R. (Offer limited to Continental U.S. where legal.)

86 Proof Blended Scotch Whisky • The Paddington Corporation, New York 20, N.Y.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE NLF MYTH

To the Editor: Douglas Pike's article "How Strong Is the NLF?" (*The Reporter,* February 24) very ably and definitely clarifies a much-discussed aspect of the Vietnam war. It destroys the myth of the popularity of the Vietcong, which is offered by a few Walter Lippmanns as a reason for their shameful defeatism and blindness.

Your magazine, intellectual and liberal, does not suffer from the irrational fear of some noisy characters. It certainly contributes, constructively and intelligently, to the enlightenment of that large number of well-meaning but shortsighted Americans.

MARIO CAMARGO
Poughkeepsie, New York

A SYSTEM ON TRIAL

To the Editor: George Bailey's report on the Sinyavsky-Daniel affair ("The Trial of Two Soviet Writers," *The Reporter,* February 24) is the clearest and most incisive account of that grim procedure I have read. The trial was not merely a trumped-up farce and a dismaying return to Stalinist methods of silencing writers who disagreed with the régime; it was also, as Mr. Bailey shows, an admission by the Soviet authorities that something is basically amiss with the Soviet system. It is difficult to see how either the theory of socialist realism or the Soviet system itself can help being severely shaken by this repellent "trial."

P. F. GRADITZ
New York

YOUTH AND CRIME

To the Editor: As administrator of a state program for juveniles and as a member of the Advisory Council to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, I applaud *The Reporter* for James Symington's article on "Youth, Crime, and the Great Society" in your February 24 issue. By calling our attention to double standards, Mr. Symington is recalling us to utter reality. We cannot demand morality of the young unless we are willing to demand equal standards from the worlds of commerce, law, and government.

Our investment in youth has been relatively meager. The implication of Mr. Symington's piece is severe: we cannot really expect to deal adequately with the problem of juvenile delinquency—or adult delinquency, for that matter—unless we develop on a nationwide scale a commitment to children and their welfare which is open-ended.

We should applaud the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime for its pioneering efforts. I have no doubt that it opened the way for some of the OEO programs. But until we win the wars on the education front, the civil-rights front, the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Meet Madame Modiste celebrated seamstress of Livonia, Mich.

She's never worked for Pauline Trigere or Bergdorf Goodman. Yet her professional skills help keep you in the height of fashion . . . if you own a General Motors car. She's a seamstress at a GM Fisher Body plant, one of three thousand whose deft needlecraft turns rolls of upholstery materials into smart, superbly fitted seat coverings—more than seven million times a year.

These talented "couturières" work with cloth, vinyl fabrics, and soft, genuine leathers in the process of creating the designs you see in General Motors cars. The inviting interiors they produce unite with some 170 car models from which today's highly selective car buyer may choose.

General Motors car interiors are fashioned and selected by trained specialists of taste and discernment. But their abilities would be wasted without the practiced hand of the expert seamstress. She is one of the people who keep GM in the automotive styling forefront.

GM General Motors Is People...making better things for you

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Don't miss the famous
Japan Air Lines
"WELCOME ABOARD"

...from Noriko in California

where Japan Air Lines DC-8 Jet Couriers take off at least twice a day from San Francisco or Los Angeles across the Pacific to Tokyo. Stop over, if you wish, in Honolulu for a sunny Hawaiian holiday—at no extra fare.

...from Fumiko in Hong Kong

where the welcome of your gracious kimono-clad JAL Hostess is a prelude to delightful service in the Japanese manner. Jet up to Tokyo or down to Bangkok, Singapore, Djakarta. Or fly JAL from Hong Kong through India and the Middle East to Europe.

...from Shoko in London

where JAL is the only airline offering both routes to Japan. Fly JAL's "Silk Road" via Rome, India, and Southeast Asia. Or take the fast North Pole route via Hamburg. Either way, you enjoy airline service unique in all the world.

Wherever in the world you fly the magnificent Jet Couriers of Japan Air Lines, the pleasures of the Orient continue on and on and on "amid the calm beauty of Japan at almost the speed of sound."

See your travel agent or

JAPAN AIR LINES JAL

job front, the front of meager and often degrading public-assistance practices, the as yet limited child-welfare front, and others, the specter of delinquency will remain with us.

Many departments of Federal, state, and local government have tasks to perform in this regard. The President's Committee is continuing the Commission on Law Enforcement, and the new Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children also has major contributions to make in this field.

NORMAN V. LOURIE
Department of Public Welfare
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

To the Editor: By publishing articles like James Symington's, *The Reporter* performs a constructive service for the cause of law enforcement and the administration of justice. Your magazine is to be commended for its continuing interest in these subjects.

MYRL E. ALEXANDER, Director
Bureau of Prisons
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor: James Symington's article was both interesting and informative. He mentions the importance of satisfactory relations between the police and the community in retarding our increasing rate of juvenile delinquency. Enough emphasis cannot be placed on the key role that each member of a law-enforcement agency can play in direct dealings with our youth and with the community as a whole.

The community, however, must share in the responsibility for existing crime rates and for establishing better communication with its police department. Too often, members of the community will shirk any responsibility with the attitude that it is none of their concern, that policemen are paid to do the job. The public must be educated and informed on its responsibilites so that it can work with law-enforcement agencies to combat increasing crime rates.

The answer lies with the public because it has the power to promote legislation which can improve the effectiveness of law enforcement and because public opinion is a strong weapon which can aid or impede the attainment of a "Great Society."

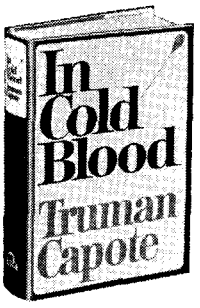
DOLORES HEISINGER
California State College
Long Beach

RED WAVE

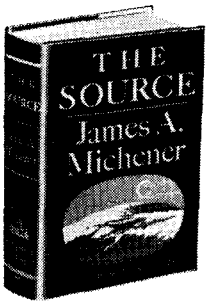
To the Editor: Noel Mostert's article "Russia Bids for Ocean Supremacy" (*The Reporter*, February 10) provides keen insight into the motives behind the Soviet Union's sustained, high-priority program to emerge as the dominant maritime power in the world.

We seem determined to prevent the Soviet Union from overshadowing us in space exploration. Yet, here on planet Earth, we apparently intend to permit our adversary ultimately to dominate

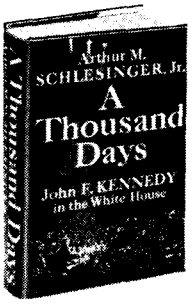
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



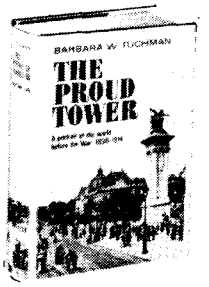
291. IN COLD BLOOD *by* TRUMAN CAPOTE. (Retail price $5.95)



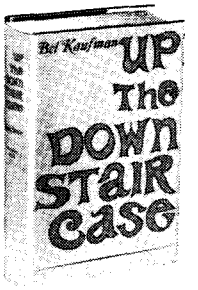
235. THE SOURCE *by* JAMES A. MICHENER Illustrated. (Retail price $7.95)



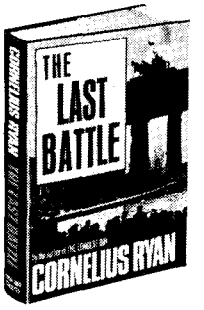
278. A THOUSAND DAYS John F. Kennedy in the White House *by* ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR. (Retail price $9)



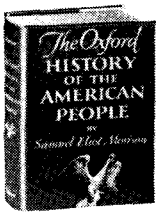
114. THE PROUD TOWER *by* BARBARA W. TUCHMAN Illustrated. (Retail price $7.95)



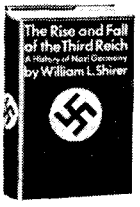
203. UP THE DOWN STAIRCASE *by* BEL KAUFMAN. (Retail price $4.95)



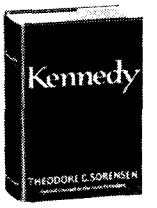
110. THE LAST BATTLE *by* CORNELIUS RYAN. Illustrated. (Retail price $7.50)



234. THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE *by* SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. Illus. (Ret. price $12.50)



431. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH *by* WILLIAM L. SHIRER. (Retail price $12.50)



279. KENNEDY *by* THEODORE C. SORENSEN. (Retail price $10)

An Invitation to Readers

WHO MAY HAVE CONSIDERED MEMBERSHIP IN THE

Book-of-the-Month Club

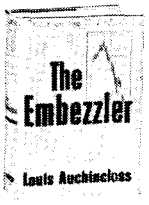
CHOOSE ANY THREE

of the books shown on this page

FOR ONLY $1

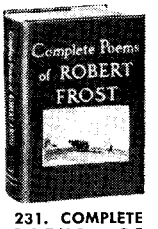
IN A SHORT EXPERIMENTAL SUBSCRIPTION

YOU SIMPLY AGREE TO BUY THREE ADDITIONAL CLUB CHOICES WITHIN A YEAR



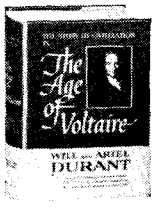
108. THE EMBEZZLER *by* LOUIS AUCHINCLOSS (Ret. price $4.95)

287. THE DOUBLE IMAGE *by* HELEN MAC INNES. (Retail price $5.75)



231. COMPLETE POEMS OF ROBERT FROST (Retail price $7)

259. MY TWELVE YEARS WITH JOHN F. KENNEDY *by* EVELYN LINCOLN. (Retail price $5.50)

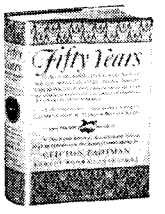


280. THE AGE OF VOLTAIRE *by* WILL *and* ARIEL DURANT. Illus. (Retail price $12)

242. AMERICA'S GARDEN BOOK *by* JAMES *and* LOUISE BUSH-BROWN. Illus. (Ret. price $8.95)

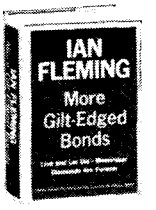
161. JOY OF COOKING *by* IRMA S. ROMBAUER *and* MARION R. BECKER. Illus. (Ret. price $6.50)

261. NEVER CALL RETREAT *by* BRUCE CATTON Maps. (Retail price $7.50)



305. FIFTY YEARS *Edited by* CLIFTON FADIMAN. Illustrated. (Retail price $10)

494. GILT-EDGED BONDS *by* IAN FLEMING. (Retail price $4.95)



254. MORE GILT-EDGED BONDS *by* IAN FLEMING (Ret. price $5.95)

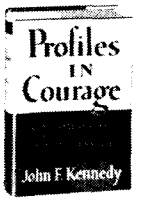
AN UNPRECEDENTED HOME-LIBRARY BUILDING PLAN EVERY BOOK-READING FAMILY SHOULD KNOW ABOUT

THE EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP suggested here will not only prove, *by your own actual experience*, how effectually membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club **keeps you from missing, through oversight or overbusyness,** books you fully intend to read; it will also demonstrate another equally important advantage enjoyed by members: Book-Dividends. Through this unique profit-sharing system Book-of-the-Month Club members can regularly receive valuable library volumes—*at a small fraction of their price*—simply by buying books they would buy anyway if they were not members.

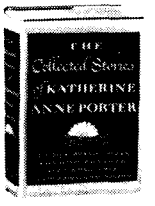
If you continue after this experimental membership, you will receive, *with every Club choice you buy*, a Book-Dividend Certificate. Each Certificate, together with a nominal sum, **usually $1.00 or $1.50**—occasionally more for unusually expensive volumes—can be redeemed for a valuable Book-Dividend which you may choose from over 100 fine library volumes whose retail prices now average $7. Since its inauguration the almost incredible sum of **over $362,000,000 worth of books (retail value) has been received by Book-of-the-Month Club members through this unique plan.**

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, INC., 345 Hudson Street, New York, N. Y. 10014

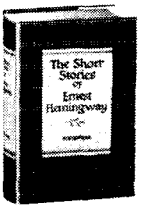
148. THE ITALIANS *by* LUIGI BARZINI (Retail price $6.95)



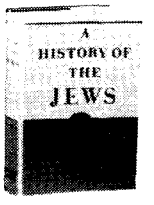
616. PROFILES IN COURAGE *by* JOHN F. KENNEDY Memorial Edition (Retail price $5)



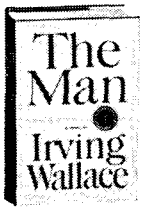
276. THE COLLECTED STORIES OF KATHERINE ANNE PORTER (Ret. price $5.95)



487. THE SHORT STORIES OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY (Retail price $6)



258. A HISTORY OF THE JEWS *by* ABRAM LEON SACHAR. Maps (Ret. price $7.95)



127. THE MAN *by* IRVING WALLACE. (Retail price $5.95)

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

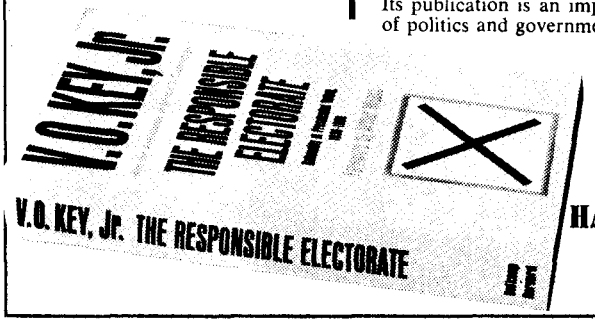
THE RESPONSIBLE ELECTORATE

Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936-1960

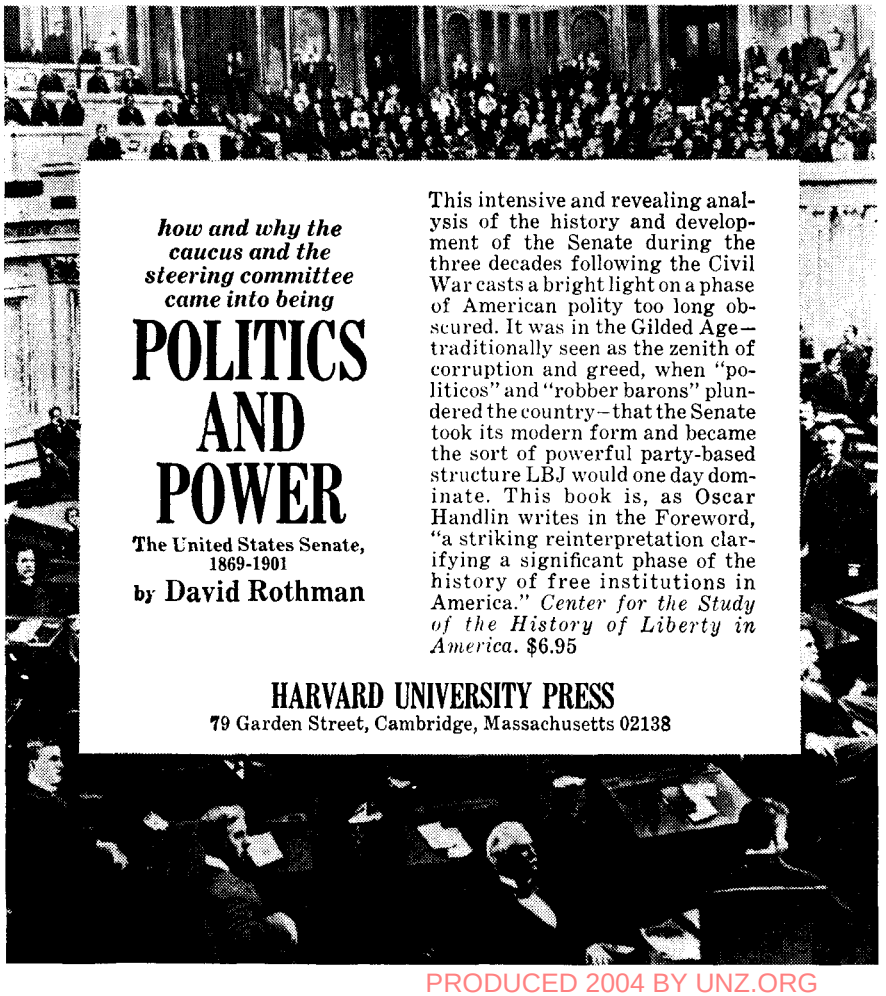
by **V. O. KEY, Jr.**
with the assistance of
Milton C. Cummings, Jr.

A VOTE ☒ FOR YOU AS THE LOGICAL VOTER

Contrary to the popular contention that the American voter bases his vote on anything but the issues, this challenging and heartening book shows that "voters are *not* fools," that the whole electoral system is "not mere window dressing," and that Americans "*have* voted on what they really believe in." Its author was a giant among political scientists. At his recent death he left behind a nearly-finished manuscript—the result of a study his colleagues knew was urgently exciting to him. The book, completed from Key's own notes and data by Milton C. Cummings, Jr., *is* urgently exciting, for it is, in effect, a vote of confidence for the American voter. Its publication is an important event in the study of politics and government.



At all bookstores $4.00
HARVARD/BELKNAP



how and why the caucus and the steering committee came into being

POLITICS AND POWER

The United States Senate, 1869-1901

by **David Rothman**

This intensive and revealing analysis of the history and development of the Senate during the three decades following the Civil War casts a bright light on a phase of American polity too long obscured. It was in the Gilded Age—traditionally seen as the zenith of corruption and greed, when "politicos" and "robber barons" plundered the country—that the Senate took its modern form and became the sort of powerful party-based structure LBJ would one day dominate. This book is, as Oscar Handlin writes in the Foreword, "a striking reinterpretation clarifying a significant phase of the history of free institutions in America." *Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America.* $6.95

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
79 Garden Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

and control the world's trade routes—by default.

Mr. Mostert's analysis has already had a considerable impact here in the nation's capital, and it may well have a salutary effect in terms of stirring the American people to action.

EDWIN M. HOOD, President
Shipbuilders Council
of America
Washington, D.C.

HARD TO SWALLOW

To the Editor: Just this comment regarding "The Bitter Bread" (*The Reporter*, February 24): It takes the beauty of Jesse Hill Ford's talent to show us how ugly we are.

FRANK B. MCMAHON
Southern Illinois University
Edwardsville, Illinois

THE CASE FOR FULBRIGHT

To the Editor: The lead "Reporter's Note" in your February 24 issue, entitled "The Grand Alliance," has inspired me to particular wrath. It may be true that Senator Fulbright does not believe that "there is any other side to the debate" over Vietnam, but the hearings of his committee have certainly devoted a good deal of time and attention to that side. I should estimate that about two-thirds of the hearings have consisted of statements supporting the administration position. And Fulbright has shown himself to be quite aware of the administration's point of view; he simply disagrees with it. He has been no more narrow-minded or intolerant of opposing views than the administration has been; if anything, he has been considerably more broad-minded.

One might also wonder why you feel it so indefensible for Fulbright to raise questions about present policy. If Senators do not provide a responsible and reasoned examination of our policy, as Fulbright and others have done, who will? Would *The Reporter* prefer to see discussion confined to the picket lines and scattered student groups?

But far worse than this unfortunate comment on the Senator was the insinuation that Professor George F. Kennan "clearly believes the Soviet Union well qualified" to be our "immaculate ally." This canard bears no relationship whatsoever to his testimony.

Kennan has a long and distinguished record of dealing with the Soviet Union. Never in that period has he shown any misty-eyed sympathy for the Soviet system, as you imply. Indeed, at several points in his testimony on Vietnam he was explicitly and strongly critical of the Soviet régime and the effects of Communism. And he has shown a clear-eyed recognition of the essential interests of our nation—a much clearer recognition, in my opinion, than that possessed by many presently in government.

BRUCE W. EGGLER
New Orleans

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A unique opportunity

for you who seek new satisfactions from music

Until April 30, get four First Edition Records—in Stereo, if you wish—for only $10.88!

Effective May 1, 1966, our Louisville Orchestra's First Edition recordings advance to $10.88 each—but until midnight April 30, our special subscription offer will bring you *four* of these world-famous 12″ LP records (in either Stereo or Monaural) for the price of *one*.

In addition to the lower price, a First Edition Subscription gives you several other unusual benefits. First, you do not become a number in a computer—as a subscriber, you become a member of one of the world's most select music groups; you get personal, interested attention to your requirements; you pay no added postage or handling charges; all 72 earlier releases become available to you at a special discount price.

Read all the facts below—then mail the coupon *before* midnight April 30.

Louisville Philharmonic Society *(A Non-Profit Organization)*
Robert Whitney, Conductor

---

*First Edition Records are fine, 12″ recordings of contemporary symphonic music—original works by today's leading composers, played by the Louisville Orchestra, conducted by Robert Whitney.**

Music connoisseurs all over the free world subscribe to First Edition Records—and Dmitri Shostakovich said recently that they are well-known even in Russia. (They are frequently programed for fine-music hours by the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and U. S. I. A. to demonstrate America's cultural achievements.)

If you are building or wish to build a library of the world's best contemporary music, these records are essential to you. The music is recorded by Columbia Record Productions, and interpreted as the composer intended.

"Splendid sound."
Cleveland Plain Dealer

". . . a service to music unequalled."
Christian Science Monitor

". . . quality higher than critics dared hope."
Time Magazine

". . . the most distinguished series of phonograph records yet issued." *Paul Hume, Washington Post*

". . . Louisville Commissions enrich European as well as American repertories. And the value of recordings . . . would be hard to exaggerate." *New York Times*

". . . a quite fantastic catholicity of aesthetics . . ."
American Record Guide

* The Louisville Orchestra, Mr. Whitney conducting, was chosen to perform at the White House "Salute to the Arts" on June 14, 1965—and there repeated Ned Rorem's "Eleven Studies for Eleven Players" as recorded on our #644 (see column at right).

These are the 4 superb recordings you get for only $10.88 (until April 30, 1966)

633 **WALTER PISTON:** Concerto for Viola and Orchestra (Paul Doktor, Violist). **HALL OVERTON:** Symphony No. 2 in One Movement.

636 **FRANK MARTIN:** Concerto for Violin and Orchestra (Paul Kling, Violinist). **ERNEST BLOCH:** Proclamation for Trumpet and Orchestra (Leon Raper, Trumpeter). **TOSHIRO MAYUZUMI:** Pieces for Prepared Piano and Strings (Benjamin Owen, Pianist).

644 **NED ROREM:** Eleven Studies for Eleven Players. **WILLIAM SYDEMAN:** Orchestral Abstractions.

655 **ROY HARRIS:** Symphony No. 5. **PAUL CRESTON:** Corinthians XIII.

Please mail this coupon before midnight April 30

Richard Wangerin, Manager, Louisville Philharmonic Society
Suite G, The Brown Building, Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Please enroll me as a subscriber to First Edition Records and send me the four records named above, postage paid. You may bill me a total of $10.88 for the four records.

I agree to purchase the next six new Louisville releases (one on each alternate month for one year) at $10.88 each, with the understanding that you will mail me one *BONUS* record with each *TWO* new releases purchased.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

☐ I prefer Stereo recordings ☐ I prefer Monaural recordings.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Next Gandhi?

FIRE UNDER THE ASHES

The Life of Danilo Dolci

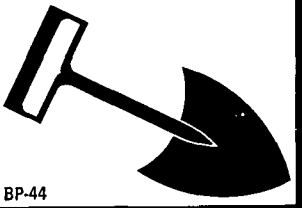
by James McNeish

Illustrated with photographs

The first full-length account of the colorful reformer who has incurred the wrath of church, state, and Mafia . . . and gained international recognition . . . by leading desperate Sicilians in constructive revolt against socioeconomic stagnation. ". . . a truly magnificent job." — Gavin Maxwell. **$5.95**

BEACON PRESS

25 Beacon St., Boston 02108



BP-44

The capital's top newsmen discuss their crucial role

The Press in Washington

Edited by

RAY E. HIEBERT

Introduction by J. Russell Wiggins, Executive Editor, *Washington Post*

17 newsmen tell the inside story of the collecting, writing, and communication of the news from our capital. Each contributor discusses the area he knows most intimately. They include such famous "by-liners" as RAY SCHERER, ART BUCHWALD, EDWARD P. MORGAN, and AUSTIN KIPLINGER, as well as executives like JULIUS FRANDSEN, of UPI and JOHN L. STEELE, Washington Bureau, *Time-Life*.

At all bookstores $5.00

DODD, MEAD

THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The Impact Impasse

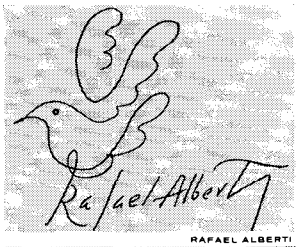
Fe equals *Ln* times *Nf* over *Nn* minus *Lf* plus *A*. The equation, accompanied by an explanation of its symbols, is one of many that appear in an elaborate two-volume study of the impacted-areas school program prepared for Congress by the Stanford Research Institute. In plain English, the report has concluded that the going formula for granting financial assistance to school districts that are burdened by the presence of Federal government installations "results in wide discrepancies . . . with many districts receiving large windfalls. . . ." And in even plainer English, Congress is now letting it be known that, despite the administration's eagerness to trim back the program on the basis of the Stanford report, the political impact of such a move would be intolerable.

"Maybe we should never have started it in the first place," Senator John O. Pastore (D., Rhode Island) told Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John W. Gardner at an appropriations hearing recently. "All I am saying is, once you give a lollypop to a child you don't take it away too easily without that child doing a little crying, and we are getting a lot of crying." Senator Norris Cotton (R., New Hampshire) was perhaps plainest of all. The program, which he had opposed at its inception, would be phased out, he told Gardner, "over my dead body."

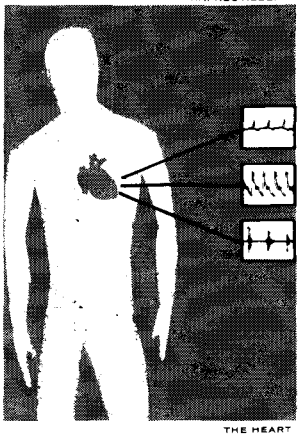
In a candid aside during the hearing, Cotton recalled that in opposing the original legislation he had foreseen what would come about: intense lobbying efforts to land Federal installations in an area, followed by equally intense efforts to qualify for school aid. There has been a good deal more going on than that, however, as Congress has painted, patched, and enlarged the legislation by amendments over the years. P.L. 81-874, which was enacted in 1950, sought to compensate school districts for an influx of what are known as "Federally connected children"—that is, children whose parents lived and/or worked on Federally owned and therefore untaxable property. Some of that property, however, has been leased to private concerns and is therefore taxable. Moreover, some of the largest is going into relatively well-to-do school districts that could easily afford more local effort. Most important, by process of amendment the act now permits localities to compute the "burden" not simply on the basis of local cost but on the basis of average state and national expenditures for education. Thus, a school district that actually spends a relatively low sum per pupil may be compensated by the Federal government at a much higher sum based on expenditures for schooling elsewhere in the country. "When educators talk about this among themselves," Gardner said—to the discomfiture of the subcommittee—"they joke about it."

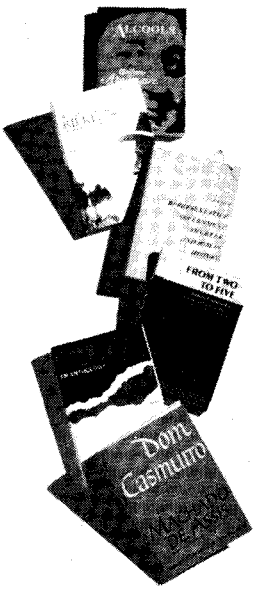
The joke may not be particularly uproarious, but it is apparently widely shared. There are programs of aid to impacted school districts in all fifty states and in 322 of the 435 Congressional districts. These figures, which do not exactly bode well for Congressional action to cut back the program, were mentioned to us in passing by Oscar Rose, superintendent of schools of Midwest City, Oklahoma, where the Tinker Air Force Base is situated—a circumstance that accounts for impacted-areas aid flowing into 104 neighboring school districts. Rose is also the chairman of what he describes as a panel and others describe as a lobby of Federally impacted-area school superintendents. "I serve as chairman and get out information on what's going on in every state," he told us, adding that his duties include holding regional

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

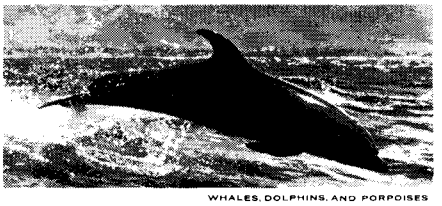


RAFAEL ALBERTI


THE HEART



PAPERBACKS


WHALES, DOLPHINS, AND PORPOISES

DOM CASMURRO

FLOWERS IN THE MIRROR

COMMUNIST CHINA

New from California

The Heart

Its Function in Health and Disease. ARTHUR SELZER, M.D. "Aimed at educated laymen who want to keep up with the remarkable advances that medical science is making." —David Perlman, *San Francisco Chronicle* $5.95

Rafael Alberti. Selected Poems

Edited and translated by BEN BELITT. The first volume to present in translation a wide selection from this modern poet. "Alberti takes his place with the best poets of his time." —C. M. Bowra $6.50

Dom Casmurro

MACHADO DE ASSIS. *Translated by* HELEN CALDWELL. "Machado de Assis is one of the novelists who deserves an international reputation."—*New York Times Book Review*
Cloth, $5.50; Paper, $1.50

Whales, Dolphins, and Porpoises

Edited by KENNETH S. NORRIS. Recent cetacean studies have revealed surprising discoveries. This is the first book to take an international and interdisciplinary approach to the subject of current cetacean research. $15.00

Ideology and Organization in Communist China

H. F. SCHURMANN. This book, after a discussion of ideology in its first part, attempts to answer the question of how the Chinese Communist organization functions and why it is so successful. Mr. Schurmann analyzes the organization of the Party and government, looks at industrial organization, and traces the history of village organization from the traditional times to communization in 1958. *A publication of the Center for Chinese Studies.* $12.50

Democracy and Economic Change in India

GEORGE ROSEN. An analysis of the Indian experience since Independence, dealing with the impact of economic change on India as a whole and on the economic, social, and political positions of specific groups such as the rural castes and the urban classes. $6.75

Flowers in the Mirror

LI JU-CHEN. *Translated by* LIN TAI-YI. "Stands in a class by itself among the more outstanding Chinese novels."—Lin Yutang. "Of first-class importance in Chinese traditional fiction."—Cyril Birch $5.00

1966 Spring Paperbacks

ALCOOLS. GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE. *Translated by Anne Hyde Greet.* $1.75

RAINER MARIA RILKE: *The Years in Switzerland.* J. R. VON SALIS. $1.75

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY. J. A. O. LARSEN. $1.75

FROM TWO TO FIVE. KORNEI CHUKOVSKY. *Translated by Miriam Morton.* "A unique contribution to our appreciation of the language of children . . ."
—*Harvard Educational Review* $1.50

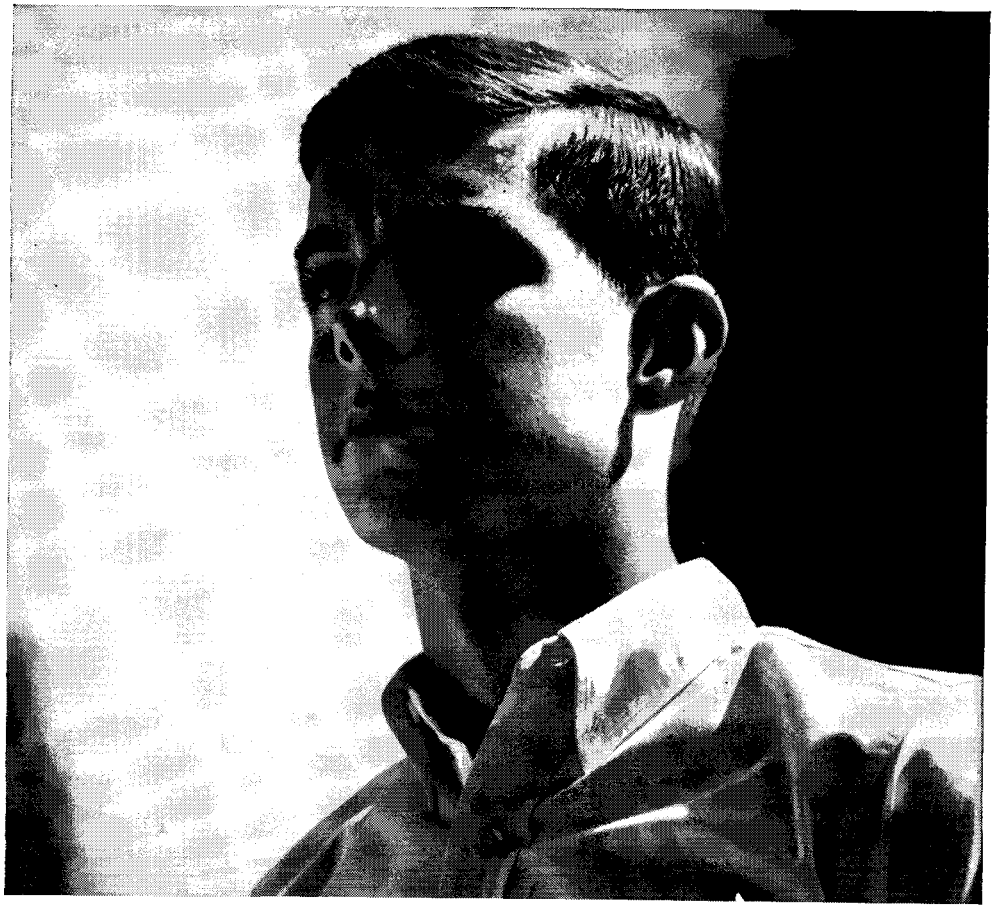
FILM: *An Anthology. Edited by Daniel Talbot.* $2.25

DOM CASMURRO. MACHADO DE ASSIS. *Translated by Helen Caldwell.* $1.50

University of California Press BERKELEY • LOS ANGELES • NEW YORK

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HE HAS REACHED the threshold of his future. He welcomes independence . . . accepts the responsibility. The challenge is to seek an answer to this question: *How can you further strengthen the communication existing between your generation and the next in this increasingly complex world?*



This magazine is a treasury of contemporary ideas and information. It is traditional in its consistent quality from one issue to the next. It is modern in its treatment of an infinite variety of subjects. It is influential in its continuous introduction of new thoughts, styles and trends. A magazine subscription makes an excellent gift to a maturing generation. It offers common ground for communication. Send one now. You will be richly rewarded.

Your World of Ideas and Products Is In

MAGAZINES

MAGAZINE ADVERTISING BUREAU OF MAGAZINE PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meetings of superintendents, advising applicants for aid, keeping abreast of what is going on in Congress, and informing his constituency of the same. While there is no question that much of the Federal aid has been well placed or that districts suddenly threatened by the administration's proposals have reason to protest, it is also apparent that Rose's panel has done its work well. "I think," Pastore remarked to the Secretary, "I heard from almost every individual in Rhode Island who is interested in it."

What Gardner has in mind to do is to revise criteria of eligibility, methods of computing compensation, and the definition of untaxable Federal property. All this has been proposed by way of amendment to last year's Education Act, and it would probably cut the number of qualified districts by about a fourth and the expenditure by about $260 million. In arguing the inequities of the present program, Gardner made plain that he would like to use the funds for expansion of Title I of the Education Act, which is focused on school districts where economic need is great. To be sure, there is something to the lollypop logic of Senator Pastore, in that an abrupt cancellation of existing local programs could cause great distress in districts that would be obliged to revamp their tax structures overnight; and Pastore's plea for working together with the affected districts on a more gradual, long-range withdrawal of aid had obvious merit. But the rare show of unanimity on the Hill, which has seen Senators Wayne Morse (D., Oregon) and George Murphy (R., California) colloquizing in harmony on the virtues of continuing the program, seems to indicate that there will be no revision at all and that the program has become impacted in the good old-fashioned dental sense of the term.

Minimum Participation

The democratic vote is perhaps our most sacred institution and we tend to believe it is efficacious in all political situations, from the fragmented states of Africa and Asia to the impoverished neighborhoods

Gentlemen: If you purchase this shaver, we promise never to repair it.

But we will promise you this, and in writing: If anything goes wrong within one year we will send you an all-new ACCUMEN Shaver. After that one-year guarantee period, and if you are unhappy with the shaver for any reason, return it to us—even if it's thirteen years from now—and for just $12.95 we'll send you the newest "top-of-the-line" model available at the time. (We fully realize that $12.95 may be worth only $2.95 thirteen years from now. But that's our hard luck). And then you can start this all over again with that new shaver—for another thirteen years if you wish. That's why we call it the "ACCUMEN LifeTime Shaver Plan."

If this sounds like an unprecedented offer, you are correct. It is. And if you think there must be some "gimmick" involved, you are also correct. There is. We would not stick our necks out so far and for so long if we weren't quite sure that the ACCUMEN will give you trouble-free satisfaction from now until the cows come home. What makes us so sure? Just this: We have observed the ACCUMEN's performance for years in Europe and since we introduced it to this country. We have talked to hundreds of really satisfied owners. We have "fan letters" by the score. Finally, we know what it's made of and how it's made. It will be a rare ACCUMEN that falters or disappoints.

This is the Ultimate Shaver — we think this is the finest shaver made in the world today. Cordless or otherwise. In our opinion it makes all others obsolete. Very few of our competitors describe their shavers as "second best," so we quite understand if you take all of these claims with a heaping spoonful of salt. But, here, for your consideration, are the principal reasons why we believe the ACCUMEN to be "The Ultimate."

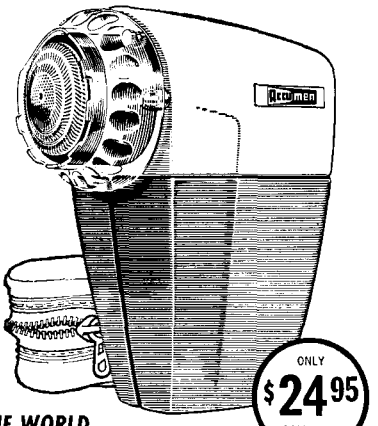
1. The Powerplant: A high-potential nickel-cadmium battery, which will give you at least ten to fifteen good shaves before recharging. As an aside: The president of Witte & Sutor (manufacturers of the ACCUMEN) is none other than Herr Waldemar Witte, the inventor of the rechargeable flashlight. He ought to know!

2. The Motor: The "synchromesh" motor is a 6000 rpm. marvel of German engineering. Barium ferrite permanent magnets, self-lubricating bearings and copper-carbon brushes assure a long, hardworking life.

3. The Shaving Head: Shaving area 2½ times larger than that of any other rotary shaver. Ultrathin foil (.00315"). Four stainless steel cutters are individually sprung and balanced and can operate independently to adapt to the minutest contour of your face (this is a truly radical innovation — have you ever noticed how your present shaver is built on the same principle as a lawn mower?)

And then the marvelous extras: The patented "LumiRing" that spotlights the working area for perfect shaves in any light. Vacuum action that keeps your whiskers from your clothing. And, as far as we know, this is the only shaver in the civilized world that is rechargeable directly from any wall socket—no transformers, no "power cords." The ACCUMEN is lockable, to keep it exclusively yours (sorry, teenagers). Then, there is a built-in shave counter. Last, and probably least, women are wild about the ACCUMEN, because the shaving head is round and smooth and has no sharp edges. (But, please, buy her one of her own.)

Still more. The ACCUMEN is not just the finest shaver in the world. The optional attachments make it a complete grooming system — among other things. Look at the choice in the coupon and help yourself.



THE WORLD FAMOUS ACCUMEN. FOR A LIFETIME OF CLOSE SHAVES

Should you Buy a Shaver by Mail — Sight Unseen? It may be unorthodox, but the only way to buy this shaver at this price (on this side of the Atlantic) is from us, the exclusive importer/retailers. Be that as it may—why not? What's the risk? You order the ACCUMEN not only with the one-year new-shaver guarantee; not only with the $12.95 ACCUMEN LifeTime Shaver Plan, but with this added assurance:

Unconditional Promise: Try the ACCUMEN for two weeks. Then, if you don't agree it is indeed "The Ultimate," send it back to us and we'll return your money by air mail and write you a nice thank-you letter.

That's it. For the price of an ordinary, run-of-the-mill shaver you can now shave with the pride of Europe. The ACCUMEN. The Ultimate Shaver. The only electric shaver that shaves close enough (in the woods or at home) to satisfy "blade men." And the only shaver in the world that will never be repaired, but that offers the exclusive ACCUMEN LifeTime Shaver Plan.

STEP INTO A NEW WORLD OF SHAVING LUXURY-TODAY ©1966

Mail to: **HAVERHILL'S** RO-324
526 Washington St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111

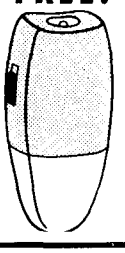
Please enroll me in the ACCUMEN LifeTime Shaver Plan, subject to the stated guarantee. I will also receive free the $4.95 rechargeable flashlight if I purchase at least one attachment in addition to the ACCUMEN. Please send me the following:

- ☐ *ACCUMEN rechargeable shaver with zippered case, mirror and brush - $24.95.
- ☐ *Hairclipper Attachment - $4.95.
- ☐ *Massage/Hairbrush Attachments, both-$4.95.
- ☐ *White Flashlight Attachment - $3.95.
- ☐ *Yellow Blinker Attachment - $3.95.
- ☐ Praktikus-5, all items marked with an *, in a beautiful zippered gift case, only $39.95. (*Instead of $42.75 if purchased separately.*)
- ☐ Automobile Charging Unit (12v or 6v)-$4.95.

☐ Check incl. $1 for Post. & Insur. Enclosed
☐ Diner's ☐ Am. Exp. Acct. # _____
California Residents Add 4% Sales Tax.

Name _____
Address _____

FREE!



Haverhill's
Searching the World to bring you the Finest

To get this ACCUMEN LifeTime Shaver Plan going in a big way, we will be pleased to send you a gift. Order the ACCUMEN and at least one attachment now and we'll send you in addition a beautiful rechargeable flashlight—also by Witte & Sutor, the manufacturers of the ACCUMEN and inventors of the rechargeable flashlight. Regular retail price of this flashlight is $4.95.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Social Significance in Books from Princeton

Organization and Revolution

Working-Class Associations in the German Revolutions of 1848-1849

PAUL NOYES. The German revolutions of 1848-49 have been previously described as uprisings of "intellectuals." Here, the author finds that, as in so many other revolts, it was the economic distress of artisans and their subsequent political activity that determined the course of the German revolutions. 432 pp. $10.00

Modernization and the Structure of Societies

A Setting for International Affairs

MARION J. LEVY, JR. This work documents the provocative thesis that most problems of international affairs are problems of modernization—underdeveloped countries strive for it, developed nations seek to stabilize it. Dr. Levy describes the social structures common to all societies and isolates the variations that make for modernization.
2 vols., 846 pp. Boxed set, $22.50

Protest in Tokyo

The Security Treaty Crisis of 1960

GEORGE R. PACKARD, III. Thousands of Japanese rioted in May and June of 1960. Official visits were hastily cancelled, the Japanese government tottered, and the world wondered at the furor. Ostensibly, the protests were directed at the U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty. Dr. Packard, who was Special Assistant to Ambassador Reichauer, digs beneath the surface and explains what actually happened and why.
408 pp. $9.00

Princeton University Press

Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Coming later in 1966: The first volume of THE PAPERS OF WOODROW WILSON. Edited by Arthur S. Link and associates. Descriptive brochure and subscription information on request.

of our cities. In the latter case, however, poverty-program elections in Philadelphia last summer, in Kansas City and Cleveland this winter, and in Los Angeles on March 1 may have considerably shaken this blind faith in the vote as a cure-all.

These elections, financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, were to give the poor a chance to name representatives to their local poverty-program agencies in compliance with Congress's requirement of "maximum feasible participation" of the poor. The elections have been a big disappointment in terms of participation, which was minimal, despite hefty OEO backing to make rousing campaigns by poor candidates feasible.

The most dismal failure was in Los Angeles, where $61,000 in OEO funds was spent on preparations and the American Arbitration Association, which had been hired to stage the election, declared the effort first-rate. For three months, the local press, radio, and TV gave an extraordinary amount of space to the issue, the Watts riot gave it special urgency, political squabbling between Mayor Sam Yorty and Representative Augustus F. Hawkins over whose poor would dominate had added to the interest, and reams of literature, including 100,000 sheets of a tabloid in Spanish, had been distributed. At the last minute, the elections were postponed three weeks and $5,000 more was invested in a final get-out-the-vote drive.

Each candidate needed a hundred sponsor names to get on the ballot—fifty more than a Congressional candidate needs—and interest was high enough to produce fifty-four qualified candidates. The OEO had twenty-two free busses to carry voters to the 154 polling places and there were hundreds of volunteers to round up the laggards. In anticipation of a sizable turnout, the OEO in Los Angeles printed 400,000 ballots. Only 2,659 of them were used.

A lot of things were wrong in Los Angeles. The vote was held, for no better reason than tradition, on a Tuesday instead of a Sunday, and it happened to fall on the day the county relief checks arrive. Those who weren't working stayed home

PRODUCED 2008 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HUDSON BOOK CLUB EXCLUSIVE!

FREE

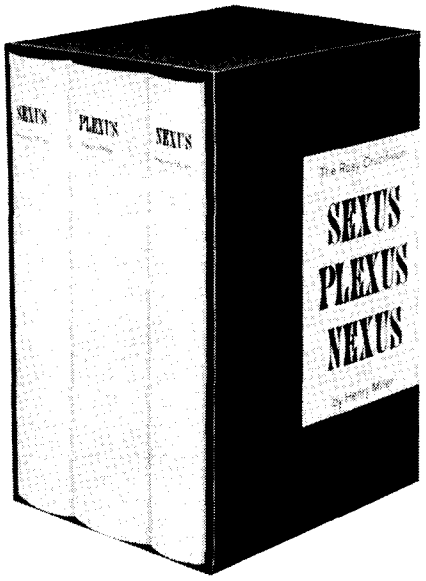
with your first selection

HENRY MILLER'S

forbidden three-volume classic

ROSY CRUCIFIXION

(SEXUS ▪ PLEXUS ▪ NEXUS)



Now complete for the first time in the Grove Press boxed set

Purchased separately, these three volumes would cost you $20.00. Handsomely boxed, they are yours free from the Hudson Book Club.

ROSY CRUCIFIXION, the magnum opus by the distinguished author of **Tropic of Cancer** and **Tropic of Capricorn,** has long been forbidden in America. To read it at last, with all three volumes complete as the author intended, is to experience for yourself the power and boldness and literary distinction that have caused critics to hail it as an American classic.

"BETTER THAN TROPIC OF CAPRICORN . . . Sexus is more mature, more highly dramatized, marked by exuberance, vitality, splendid writing, and a number of clinically precise descriptions of sex acts."—**Chicago Tribune.** "We may well come to think of Henry Miller as our greatest American existentialist"—**Saturday Review.**

"AN EPIC WORK! How to explain to the reader, who has heard that Miller is a pornographer, that he is a great American artist and a literary giant? ***Rosy Crucifixion*** is a far better work of art than Miller's earlier trilogy. An incredibly fascinating narrative of nearly 1500 pages"—**Maxwell Geismar.** "It isn't pretty, a lot of it. But then neither is real life. It goes right to the bone."—**Lawrence Durrell.** "Miller deserves a permanent place in that not inconsiderable company that includes Havelock Ellis and Alfred M. Kinsey."—**Gore Vidal.**

ROSY CRUCIFIXION is an example of the important reading offered regularly to members of the Hudson Book Club at reduced prices. Limited quantities have been set aside as Free Gifts for new members who join now. It makes good sense to send for your free 3-volume set today, with your first selection chosen from the list at right.

ONLY THREE MORE SELECTIONS NEED BE TAKEN WITHIN ONE YEAR

The Hudson Book Club pools your buying power with that of other discerning readers who share your tastes. By means of low Members' Prices and free Bonus Books, it saves you an average of 50% on the very books you would otherwise purchase at full price.

If not delighted, simply return the books within 2 weeks and your membership will be cancelled without cost or obligation. The club takes all the risk.

IMPORTANT TO ACT QUICKLY. Mail coupon today while free copies of ROSY CRUCIFIXION are still available.

FREE IF YOU ENCLOSE PAYMENT NOW!
FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCE by Simone de Beauvoir. *The author of The Second Sex writes of her own life.* 658 pp. **Published at $10!**

EROS DENIED. By Wayland Young. A history of sexual behavior. "A remarkable, brilliant and revolutionary book."—**J. Donald Adams.** 415 pp., 31 illus.
List, $7.50 **Members' Price $5.45**

MARQUIS DE SADE. Ed by Seaver and Wainhouse. De Sade's major works including **Philosophy in the Bedroom** and **Justine.** In their first complete, unbowdlerized English translation. 776 pp.
List, $15.00 **Members' Price $9.95**

HENRY MILLER TRILOGY. Tropic of Cancer, Tropic of Capricorn and **Black Spring.** Hard-cover Grove Press boxed set. "One of the most significant contributions to the literature of our time."—Sir Herbert Read.
List, $20.00 **Members' Price $9.95**

LES NUITS DE PARIS. Best known as a pornographer, Restif de la Bretonne here depicts the Hogarthian horrors of night-life among the three-quarters of a million inhabitants of Paris just before and during the French Revolution.
List, $5.95 **Members' Price $4.95**

A TREASURY OF ART MASTERPIECES. Ed. by Thomas Craven. *The most highly praised art book of our time* in a magnificent new edition. 650 reproductions (161 in full color) of the world's greatest paintings. 8¾"x 11¼".
List, $8.95 **Members' Price $5.95**

THIEF'S JOURNAL. By Jean Genet. Strange hymn to inverted passions. "I do not fear to call this book the most beautiful Genet has written—**Jean-Paul Sartre's Fwd.**
List, $6.00 **Members' Price $4.95**

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREHISTORIC AND ANCIENT ART. Ed. by Rene Huyghe. One monumental volume spanning all the ages, cultures and races of mankind from the dawn of human society to the Fall of Rome. 750 illustrations, many in color.
List, $17.95 **Members' Price $9.95**

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MODERN ART. Ed. by Rene Huyghe. All the explosive genius of the 19th and 20th centuries—Impressionism to Pop Art. Over 1,200 illus. 56 in full color.
List, $20.00 **Members' Price $9.95**

MEMOIRS OF FIELD MARSHAL KEITEL. Chief of the German High Command in World War II. Top-level revelations including the famous bomb plot and the aborted plans for invading Britain. Written in prison just before the author was hanged at Nuremburg.
List, $7.95 **Members' Price $5.50**

ABU SIMBEL. By Wm. MacQuitty. Particularly handsome photo-and-text memorial to the artistic glory and legendary treasure of Ramses the Great's fabulous tomb-monument. 121 photos, 47 in full color.
List, $15.00 **Members Price $7.95**

LA BATARDE. By Violette Leduc. Best-selling autobiography lauded by Sartre, Genet and The New Yorker's "Paris Letter"—a poignant, blazingly frank **Succes de Scandale** that has sold over 200,000 copies in France alone. 506 pp.
List, $6.95 **Members' Price $4.95**

REPORT TO GRECO. By Nikos Kazantzakis. Important lyrical autobiography and life-work summation by the author of **Zorba the Greek** and **The Last Temptation of Christ.** 512 pp.
List, $7.50 **Members' Price $4.95**

POP ART. By John Rublowsky. First comprehensive exposition of the Pop Art movement—an unabashed revelation of the beauties of the everyday world. 205 photos by Ken Heyman, 41 in full color. 8"x10".
List, $12.50 **Members' Price $7.95**

THE CIVILIZATION OF GREECE. By Francois Chamoux. "*An important and magnificent book. To call it a 'must' for every educated man or woman is not an extravagant blurb but a simple truth.*"
—**Theodor H. Gaster.** 229 illustrations.
List, $12.95 **Members' Price $7.95**

LAST EXIT TO BROOKLYN. By Hubert Selby, Jr. A forceful novel of modern urban degradation—"a vision of hell so stern that it cannot be chuckled or raged aside."—**N.Y. Times.**
List, $5.00 **Members' Price $3.95**

PSYCHOPATHIA SEXUALIS. By Richard von Krafft-Ebing. The first all-English edition of a classic work on sexual deviation; over 200 case studies. 512 pp.
List, $7.95 **Member's Price $5.95**

THE FILMS OF CHARLIE CHAPLIN. Ed. by G. D. McDonald et al. Splendid record in words and pictures of the Little Tramp. 80 films appraised and illustrated—from early Keystones to **Limelight** and **A King in New York.** 328 photos. 8½" x 11¼".
List $7.95 **Members' Price $5.95**

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL ART. Ed. by Rene Huyghe. The art of 1000 years in a highly prolific age. 416 pp., over 1000 illus., 36 in full color.
List, $17.95 **Members' Price $9.95**

LAROUSSE WORLD MYTHOLOGY. Ed. by Pierre Grimal. Monumental presentation of all the mythologies of mankind with 670 illus. 49 in full color. 600 pp. 8½" x 11¼".
List, $25.00 **Members' Price $12.50**

GEORGE BELLOWS: Painter of America. By Charles H. Morgan. First full-length biography of the great American realist best known for his prize-ring paintings. 91 illustrations.
List, $8.50 **Members' Price $5.95**

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE ART. Ed. by Rene Huyghe. The monumental *arts and beauty from the birth of modern man: da* Vinci, Rembrandt, Velasquez et al. 1214 illus. many in full color.
List, $20.00 **Members' Price $9.95**

NO MONEY NEED BE SENT WITH COUPON

HUDSON BOOK CLUB, 131 VARICK STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10013

Please enroll me as a Trial Member of the Hudson Book Club and send me ROSY CRUCIFIXION free. As my first selection, send me, at the low Member's Price:

_____
(ENTER YOUR FIRST SELECTION HERE)

If for any reason I decide not to remain a member, I may return these books within 2 weeks and my membership will be cancelled without cost or obligation.

If I elect to remain a member I need choose only 3 more books at reduced prices during the coming year, and will be under no further obligation. Thereafter, every 4 books I accept from the Club will entitle me to a free Bonus Book of my choice.

Name_____

Address_____

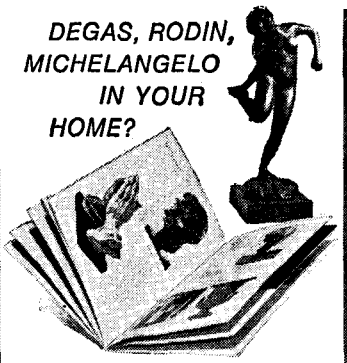
City_____ State_____ Zip_____

☐ Please bill me for my First Selection plus shipping charge.

☐ My check for First Selection is enclosed (Club pays shipping). Please send free copy of FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCE. MR-12U

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEGAS, RODIN, MICHELANGELO IN YOUR HOME?



NOW you can truly afford a masterpiece—sculpture that has lived in the world's great museums and private collections can now live in your home.

Every fine detail of these superb sculpture pieces has been permanently captured in authenticated reproductions. Choose from stunning examples of every period: Greco-Roman, Egyptian, Primitive, Renaissance, Impressionist, and Contemporary. And select unique fashion accessories from an exquisite collection of museum jewelry in replica.

For our exciting catalog of over 125 photographs and descriptions, send 25¢ in coin. **Dept. R-A**

BRENTANO'S
586 Fifth Ave., New York City 10036

SUMMER JOBS IN THE ROCKIES!
Over 2,000 resorts, dude ranches, camps, construction companies, national parks, etc. shown in Rocky Mountain Summer Employment Guide. Also, how to get FREE transportation to these areas and information on summer stewardess jobs (U.S. and overseas). Enjoy a summer of fun in the high country!

University Publications, Dept. C-11
Box 6013, Denver, Colorado 80206

Gentlemen: Please rush my copy of the Guide. Payment of $3 is enclosed which is to be refunded immediately if I am not completely satisfied.

NAME_____
ADDRESS_____
CITY_____ STATE_____

MOVING?

If you are changing your mailing address, please be sure to let us know *at least* four weeks in advance. That way, we can be sure you'll not miss an issue of THE REPORTER—and you'll be sure to get them all on time.

Important: Please send us both your *old* and *new* addresses plus the *date* you would like the change made. (A copy of your address label clipped to your notice would help.)

THE REPORTER
660 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

close to the mailbox. More important, unlike in other cities where everyone living in poor neighborhoods could vote, in Los Angeles only persons with incomes under $4,000 were eligible—meaning that voting was a humiliating admission of indigence.

As good an explanation as any is that residents of neighborhoods that consistently fail to vote for a President just don't believe the vote has much meaning for them, even when it comes to choosing their own spokesmen on poverty boards. When Congress gets around soon to reconsidering what it meant by the ambiguous terms "maximum" and "feasible," the voting patterns will come in for a good deal of attention. It will be high time. OEO Director Sargent Shriver seemed to be conceding the point in advance when he said on March 8, "We don't believe we've received our money's worth in these elections." In Los Angeles, to be specific, each vote cast to elect the seven representatives of the poor to the twenty-three-member Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency cost about $23. That's some inflation over the five-dollar bills ward heelers used to hand out in the bad old days.

Which Is the Better Half?

Some twenty-three years ago a young law graduate went into a Tuscaloosa, Alabama, dime store to buy a bag of chocolates and, so it is told, fell in love with a sixteen-year-old clerk named Lurleen Burns. Recently an American success story of sorts culminated when the former clerk, now Mrs. George Wallace, announced that she was filing for the Alabama gubernatorial primary on May 3. Perhaps she will model her campaign after that of "Ma" Ferguson of Texas in 1924. After her husband "Pa," the governor, had been impeached, Ma ran for the office and won on the slogan, "Two Fergusons for the Price of One." But the question in Alabama today is: Do two Wallaces make a right?

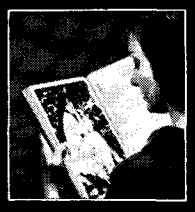
Ma Wallace's bid presents all sorts of possibilities. If, for instance, Lurleen does become governor, will George be separate but equal? And if they disagree ("Get your dirty shoes off my desk!"), will she bar the door? In Southern politics, there is the uneasy memory of Mrs. Earl Long, who contrived to have her husband flown off to a Texas sanatorium in a Louisiana State National Guard plane. *She* wasn't even governor. As the saying in Montgomery goes these days, bedfellows make strange politics.

Eyeball to Eyeball

In one of those crash-through statements that the social sciences are always coming up with, we read the other day that British researchers have verified that "Eye contact—along with physical closeness, smiling, intimacy of the topic of conversation—is a factor in the intimacy of a relation between two persons." As reported in *Transaction* (a journal published by Washington University in St. Louis "To Further the Understanding and Use of the Social Sciences"), "For every couple, there is an equilibrium point where withdrawal would be distressing but an increase of intimacy would be embarrassing . . . Preferred distance seems to be a cultural variable. Americans, for example, generally chose a distance of about 20 inches; a smaller distance is characteristic of Latin Americans or Middle Easterners. That is why international conferences sometimes have the spectacle of American delegates retreating backward or gyrating in circles to get away from overly intimate fellow delegates."

Somebody, we hope, is going to see to it that this fruitful line of inquiry into the mysteries of human behavior doesn't stop with the researchers' so far piddling experiments with six adults and six children. Surely the potentialities here warrant the establishment of a permanent eye-contact research bureau at the United Nations and eye-contact advisory missions to trouble spots throughout the world. We advocate, as well, that an international table of preferred distances be drawn up and that the tape measure become as standard a part of the diplomat's equipment as striped pants and the correctly folded handkerchief.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



If – until today – your experience with art masterpieces has been limited, for the most part, to scaled-down "prints" and reproductions in books

Imagine the excitement of viewing the world's great paintings in the FULL SIZE and GLOWING COLORS of the original canvases– on your own wall at home!

A REMARKABLE DEMONSTRATION OFFER FROM

THE McGRAW HILL Color Slide Program of Art Enjoyment

TAKE THIS ALBUM OF IMPRESSIONIST PAINTINGS FOR ONLY $1 [comparable value: $15 to $18]

HAVE you ever wondered why people who are otherwise well-informed often fail to develop a real understanding and enthusiasm for so many of the world's great paintings? Perhaps it is because most of us only rarely have the experience of standing before the original works of art.

Imagine, then, what it would be like to view celebrated masterpieces in *your own home* – just as they appear in leading museums and in the collections of the world's great art patrons! This extraordinary experience is now open to you through a series of remarkable Albums offered to members of the McGraw-Hill Color Slide Program of Art Enjoyment. There has never been anything like it.

A new way to enjoy the world's great art

As a member of this Program, you will gaze in astonishment as Renoir's lovely "Seated Bather" (shown above) appears on your wall *four feet high* – aglow with all the vibrant reds, blues and greens of the Impressionist palette; you will thrill to Rembrandt's famed "Aristotle Contemplating the Bust of Homer," seen *nearly five feet in height* – and marvel as you view Titian's famed allegorical masterpiece "Sacred and Profane Love" in its *full eight-foot width*, just as it appears in Rome's Borghese Gallery. These are just a few of the scores of magnificent works of art you will see projected in the actual size and full color of the original paintings.

24 Impressionist masterpieces for $1

If you accept this demonstration offer, you will receive a unique Album containing 24 color slides of priceless works by Renoir, Monet, Degas, and other important Impressionist painters. These slides are produced in Florence, Italy, to exacting specifications on 35mm Kodak film in individual 2 x 2 mounts. They set a new standard of faithfulness to the artists' originals, and can be used in any home slide projector. (If you do not own a projector, you may obtain one at very low cost with your trial Album. See special offer on this page.)

The color slides, however, are only one part of this elaborate Album. Bound into the center is an illustrated 48-page book by Albert Châtelet, Director of France's renowned Lille Museum—with a guide to each of the slide pictures and the complete story of the Impressionist era.

If this demonstration pleases you, you will be offered a new slide-and-commentary Album as issued, approximately every two months. Among the Albums in this series are *Italian Renaissance Painting*, *The Golden Age of Spanish Painting*, and Albums covering every major art period. As a member, you may accept as few or as many Albums as you wish.

Until today, slide-and-commentary art education was available only in museums or universities. Now, you can benefit from the same kind of expert guidance–and enjoy the world's great masterpieces with your family and invited guests–right in your own home.

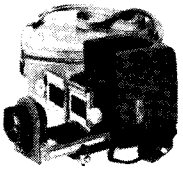
The cost is surprisingly low

The least you might expect to pay for 24 color slides of comparable quality – if the subjects were available from museums and private collections – is $15 to $18. Yet, as a subscriber to this new Program, you pay only $7.95, plus a few cents shipping, *for each complete Album* – including slides and illustrated guide book.

Try the demonstration album for 10 days

Send no money now. We will ship your introductory Color Slide Album of Impressionist Painting and enroll you as a trial subscriber. If you are thrilled with the demonstration and wish to continue with the Program, send only $1, plus a few cents for shipping. Thereafter, you will be offered a new Album approximately every two months at the subscribers' low price of only $7.95. If not delighted, however, you may return everything within 10 days, cancel your subscription, and owe nothing.

IF YOU DO NOT HAVE A PROJECTOR, here's an unusual opportunity. We have obtained a limited supply of the sensational new Minolta Mini 35 II, with Rokkor F2.5 wide angle projection lens. This top-rated portable slide projector shows all 35mm slides. List price $37.50—subscribers' price only $14.95 (including carrying case). Because the supply is strictly limited, orders will be filled as received and remittance must accompany trial subscription form. Full refund if projector is returned in 10 days.



MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

McGraw-Hill Color Slide Program of Art Enjoyment, Dept. BB-101
330 W. 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 10036

Please enter my trial subscription and send me the introductory *Color Slide Album of Impressionist Painting* (including 24 color slides and illustrated 48-page art book). Bill me only $1, plus a few cents for shipping. If I am not delighted with this introductory shipment, I may return everything within 10 days, cancel my subscription, and owe nothing.

If I do continue, you will send me a new Color Slide Album approximately every two months (for 10 days trial examination) and bill me at the subscribers' low price of $7.95, plus shipping. I am not obligated to take any minimum number of Albums, and may stop when I wish.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY & ZONE.....STATE.....

☐ Check here if you wish the Minolta Mini 35 II Projector included and remit $14.95 with this coupon for projector. If you are not delighted, return within 10 days for full refund.

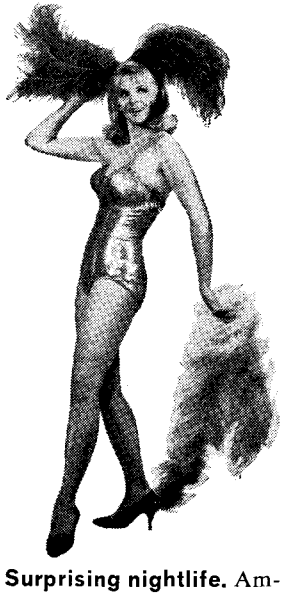
Offer good in U.S.A. only AC-104

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

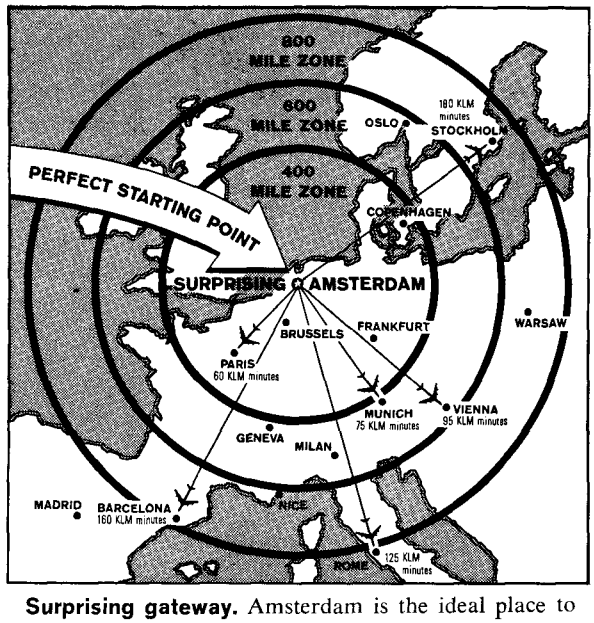
"By George– 22 surprises and all in Amsterdam"

KLM's hometown is one of Europe's 4 most popular cities. Scan these reasons why. Then clip coupon for 208-page guidebook–plus details of new KLM "touring fares" that give you *2 weeks* in Europe for $371.

Surprising Sights. Amsterdam's wooden Magere (pronounce it Mock-huh-ra) Brug is the most famous of the city's 636 bridges. It's 300 years old–and still going strong.



Surprising nightlife. Amsterdam *swings*. After-dark entertainment ranges from ecdysiasts (above) to avant-garde poetry readings.



Surprising gateway. Amsterdam is the ideal place to *start* your tour. Right on the edge of the Continent–yet smack in the *middle* of Europe's other lively cities.

KLM and the careful, punctual Dutch can fly you to 40 cities of Europe. Each has its own personality.

But we're willing to bet that you'll find Amsterdam the most surprising city of all.

For example:

1. Amsterdam has twice as many miles of canals as Venice. There are 636 bridges *over* the canals for you to wish on–including the spectacular Magere Brug at left.

2. You can see Amsterdam's Royal Palace–once called the "8th wonder of the world." This massive building sits on 13,659 wooden *"stilts."*

3. Hertz and Avis rates are near rock bottom in Amsterdam. Example: a VW rents for $3.75 a day, 6½¢ a mile. *On a 30-day auto tour, you could save up to $100 by starting in Amsterdam.*

4. You can dine in the world's skinniest restaurant. Amsterdam's *Green Lantern* is 3 stories high–and only 6 feet wide.

5. Amsterdam is the hub of Europe (see map). It's the perfect place to *start* your tour. Fourteen of Europe's brightest cities are within that 800-mile KLM circle. (Note KLM flying times.)

6. You can have a "night on the town" in Amsterdam for well under $5. There's usually no cover, no minimum in Amsterdam's 45 nightclubs. A glass of Dutch jenever gin costs about 25¢. Watch an ecdysiast (far left) while you sip it!

7. Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum has the most valuable painting ever put on canvas. It's Rembrandt's giant "Night Watch." Museum admission: 15 cents.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Surprising castles. You can see 12 near Amsterdam. Romantic idea: stay overnight in one for about $4.

8. You can join the world's most fantastic bicycle brigade for 85¢ a day. Amsterdam has more bikes than any other city. Also, the most astounding variety of *riders*. (See cyclist below.)

9. You can undergo Europe's only official test for witchcraft. Step on the Witch Scale at Oudewater, 35 miles from Amsterdam. If you're too heavy to ride safely on a broom, you'll get a diploma. (Under 99 pounds, happy Halloween.)

10. You can see a UN emblem set with 5,180 diamonds. Admission to the diamond-cutting center is free. The world's *smallest* diamond is displayed, too. It's no bigger than this period.

11. You can zoom around one of Europe's finest speedways in your own car. Track fee at Zandvoort (just 15 miles from Amsterdam) is 56¢—*per day*.

12. Amsterdam is the most *perfectly preserved city* in Europe. Not one brick may be moved without official permission. *Result: you can photograph the 17th century.* (This is why many people say Surprising Amsterdam is the most satisfying place to get your *first glimpse* of the old world.)

Surprising sounds. Amsterdam is a city of musicians. It has one of the world's great symphony orchestras—and more barrel organs than *any* other city.

13. You can visit the Anne Frank House. The attic rooms at 263 Prinsengracht are just as the Franks left them. Open daily.

14. Amsterdam has more barrel organs than any other city. They serenade you with Strauss, Puccini—Cole Porter. Carillons chime in every half hour.

15. You can have a 21-dish feast for about $3—per couple. It's an Indonesian delight called "Rijsttafel." Included: curried meat, sprouted beans, stuffed omelet. You can dine in 12 languages in Amsterdam—at *half* New York prices.

16. You can hear one of the world's best orchestras for $2. That's the price of a good seat for a performance of Amsterdam's Concertgebouw Orchestra.

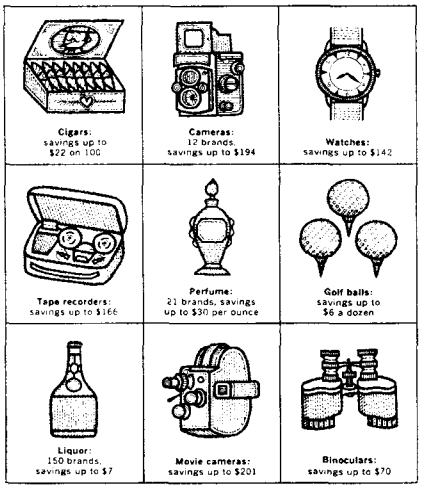
17. You can visit Aalsmeer and see 320 acres of greenhouse blossoms. Aalsmeer—next door to Amsterdam Airport—is the center of European flower growing. Flowers are cut at dawn, sold by 11:00 a.m., and rushed to KLM planes for delivery.

18. You can rent a boat (with skipper) and tour Holland by water—$4.75 a day. The rate is per person, in a party of six. This adventure is popular, so book your boat early. Your travel agent can help.

19. Near Amsterdam, you can see the world's most spectacular miniature town. It's called Madurodam. All the famous landmarks of Holland, past and present, are reproduced in exact 1/25th scale—on *five acres*. Admission: 35¢.

20. Amsterdammers are the best linguists in Europe. Most speak *English*—a blessing when you need directions. *Note:* you have a standing invitation to visit any of 245 Dutch families *at home*.

21. You can storm a dozen ancient castles on the outskirts of Amsterdam. There's a cozy coffee shop in the old wine cellar of the one at Muiden. Some castles even have guest rooms where you can stay the night for as little as $4.



Surprising bargains. Sample savings you can make at Amsterdam's *tax-free* center—*largest in Europe*.

22. You can find Europe's best bargains in Amsterdam. Delft china, cheese and diamonds, of course. *Antiques*—for as much as *80 percent* less than in the U.S. Note *tax-free* bargains above, too.

2 weeks in Europe—$371

Clip coupon for KLM's 208-page *book* with more Amsterdam surprises. (Or get a free copy from your travel agent.)

Important: you can also use the coupon to get details of KLM's new "touring fares" that give you 2 weeks in Europe, including round trip economy jet fare from New York—for just $371.

KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, G.P.O. Box 1869, N. Y., N. Y. 10001

☐ **Please rush me KLM's 208-page book, "Surprising Amsterdam." I enclose 25¢ to cover mailing costs. (Or get one free from your travel agent).**

☐ **Please send free brochure on KLM's exclusive "Europe on $5 a Day" plan/"touring fare"* offer—15 days, 5 cities, air fare, hotels, breakfasts and sightseeing, only $371 complete.**

*Effective April 1, subject to gov't. approval.

Name_____ Phone _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

_____

(Name of travel agent)

KLM

ROYAL DUTCH AIRLINES

R-3

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On Hawks And Doves

ESCALATION, de-escalation; globalism, isolationism with extra margin, otherwise called sphere of influence; containment, no matter whether active or passive; neutralization, no matter where, whose, or guaranteed by whom—these are just a few samples of the verbiage providing issues and alternatives to the Great Debate. The electronic media of communication are making a priceless contribution to the murky obfuscation of issues.

George Orwell, in a memorable essay, "Politics and the English Language," analyzed as only he could "language as an instrument . . . for concealing or preventing thought." Were he among us now, he would be aghast at the power acquired via thoughtless repetition of such expressions as "peace table," "U.N. meditation," "Unconditional negotiation." Thorough, documented thinking on a Communist régime's propensity to take over neighboring countries is crushed by just two words: domino theory.

By far, the two antithetic words that have achieved the most spectacular success in muddying political thinking are hawks and doves. How suited the two terms are to signify nothing is proved by the unbalance between the two alleged categories. There seem to be few, if any, hawks around, while one can see and hear only doves, each trying to outcoo the others.

To countervail the paucity of the hawks, it is authoritatively said that the hawks are hidden, but they have it. Recently, the newspapers announced that a man already high in the State Department has been called by the President nearer to him as dove-in-residence. But still, who and where are the hawks? A White House spokesman has suggested a frightening answer: they are the People, who get angry when the war is not pursued hard enough. Considering the source of the information, based, it is said, on polls, it is as if the President were asking the Vietniks to come to his rescue. Yet it is hard to think of a man better suited to take care of himself than Lyndon Johnson. And moreover, if pressed by the hawks, he can always count on the most versatile dove of them all, Senator Robert Kennedy.

TO QUOTE Orwell again, "If thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought." When this happens to an abnormally large extent and endures for a considerable time, one can always be sure that some profiteers of confusion are trying to do away with somebody. Today the No. 1 designated victim is Dean Rusk. This meticulously responsible, self-effacing public servant has become the object of a veritable manhunt for no other reason than that he insists on talking and acting in terms of his own quiet, well-rounded logic. He doesn't lend himself to membership or to be considered for membership in either of the two flocks.

Against Rusk is a motley crowd of pompous scribes and of men still cherishing the great future lying in their past. The least that can be said about Dean Rusk is that the enemies he has made are a tribute to him. Should this man who is not a hero and does not think of himself as one be toppled, the harm to the nation would be great, for he is the last of an old line of public servants who managed the nation's foreign policy without losing a sense of proportion or the sense of the English syntax.

Fortunately, President Johnson knows a good man when he has one, and there is no reason to doubt his repeated and emphatic declarations of confidence in his Secretary of State. But everybody in this administration lives dangerously, and the President himself, with his extraordinary mixture of Biblical earnestness and showy playfulness, has sometimes inflicted unnecessary hardships on the man who under him is responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs.

The President has fallen into the habit of offering the world double-feature performances in his pronouncements and actions on the Vietnam war. This has been going on from the Johns Hopkins speech to the Honolulu Declaration: a firm, unrambunctious reaffirmation of our will to win within the limits we have assigned to ourselves is followed by invocations for the millenial change tomorrow. The dispatch of more troops to Vietnam is invariably accompanied by official reassurances that we do not intend to go to war with China or the Soviet Union—statements that do not gain anything by being repeated, for they are the literal truth in the first place. The resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam had, as an accompanying feature, the appeal to the Security Council of the United Nations. About this fatuous diplomatic step, the least said the better.

HAVEN'T WE had enough debates, enough globalism, enough of hawks and doves? Given the character of Lyndon Johnson, it would not be surprising if he had, in his own unique way, stimulated the whole verbal outpouring, counting on the time when the debaters would be hoarse and the listeners bored. Respectfully, we suggest that the time is now.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Havana Conference

PAUL D. BETHEL

DURING the first two weeks of January while President Johnson was still conducting his "peace offensive," a tricontinental Communist conference was in progress in Havana whose overriding purpose was to organize world-wide subversion against the United States. With Fidel Castro as host and officially designated as the First Conference of the Solidarity of Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the assembly brought together some six hundred delegates and observers from eighty-two countries in the three continents. From January 3 to January 15, the delegates debated, plotted, harangued, and egged each other on to even greater militancy against the United States and its "imperialist stooges." Hanoi and the Vietcong were duly represented. So were China and the Soviet Union, with large delegations whose rivalry—and eventual adjustment—provided one of the high spots of the conference. More immediately important was the high-pitched determination, repeated in scores of speeches and resolutions, to step up the pace of terror and subversion in Latin America.

Although the Havana Conference received little or no coverage in the major U.S. newspapers, it was followed closely in Europe, where *Le Monde* of Paris, for example, published a series of detailed articles. In Latin America it caused profound dismay and was promptly denounced by an extraordinary session of the Organization of American States. Ambassador Ilmar Penna Marinho of Brazil, chairman of the OAS Council, said of the Havana Conference that "Except for the placing of nuclear weapons in Cuba in October, 1962, no event threatens more dangerously the territorial and political integrity of our continent."

Penna's alarm was echoed by most other members of the OAS Council and by the Latin-American press generally. In Panama, a commentator of Radio Mia, noting the huge U.S. effort to contain Communism in Vietnam, observed that "Communism exists next door to Florida, and there they do nothing. . . . It may be that they are afraid of it, or are keeping promises made to the Russians, while that insane bearded man raves daily about invading Latin America." *El Universo* in Ecuador underscored the importance which the Soviet leaders attach to the conference, and that "While the Russians continue to seek compromises with the United States, they are not disposed to pay any price" to this end.

The Soviet Hand

There was not much question that Moscow was the chief planner as well as omnipresent manager of the conference. Last December 9, a month before the delegates gathered in Havana, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko rose in the chambers of the Supreme Soviet and briefed its members on the tricontinental conference. "The Soviet Union," Tass quoted him, "in taking part in the Havana Conference . . . will do everything to help consolidate the front of struggle against imperialist aggression." On January 2, the two Soviet supreme leaders, Leonid I. Brezhnev and Alexei N.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kosygin, followed up with a message of greeting to the conference. As reported by Tass, the message read in part: "Today, Havana attracts the attention of all fighters against the forces of imperialist aggression and colonialism, and for the national and social liberation of peoples. . . . The U.S. imperialists are challenging all progressive forces."

The head of the thirty-four-man Soviet delegation was Sharaf R. Rashidov, a candidate member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee of Uzbekistan. Speaking before the conference in Havana on January 6, he paid lip service to Russia's avowed "struggle for peace." But, foreshadowing one of the final resolutions of the conference, he made a sharp and significant qualification: "We believe," he said, "that relations among sovereign states with different public systems should be based on peaceful coexistence. . . . it is clear that there is not, nor can there be, any peaceful coexistence between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors."

Rashidov then told the conference what was expected of it. "The Soviet delegation," he said, according to the Tass dispatch, "came to this conference to promote in every conceivable way the unity of anti-imperialist forces of the three continents, so as to unfold on a still greater scale our common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, headed by the U.S. capitalists." Specifically, he pledged "fraternal solidarity with the armed struggle being waged by the Venezuelan, Peruvian, Colombian, and Guatemalan patriots for freedom against the stooges of imperialism."

THE DAY-TO-DAY work of the conference was carried out by numerous committees on social, political, and economic affairs, as well as a special Tricontinental Committee to Aid Vietnam. These provided the temporary machinery of the conference. What emerged by way of a permanent setup is more to the point. According to the chief of the Venezuelan delegation, Pedro Medina, "Only two organizations came out of the conference and they will rule—a General Secretariat which will receive all information concerning the three continents, make plans on the basis of the needs of each continent, and deliver its recommendations to an executive organ . . . named the Committee of Assistance and Aid for the Peoples Fighting for Their Liberation." This committee, which emerged as the central policy and strategy body for wars of subversion, included Soviet, Chinese, and Cuban members along with representatives of nine other participating nations. As for the General Secretariat, Havana was designated its headquarters, for the next two years at least, and Captain Osmany Cienfuegos, the chairman of Cuba's three-man Foreign Relations Committee, was named Secretary General. The question of its permanent headquarters was scheduled to be reviewed at the Second Tricontinental Conference, to be held in 1968 in Cairo at the invitation of President Nasser.

The twelve-nation Secretariat also has equal representation from the three continents. Asia is represented by South Vietnam (Vietcong), North Korea, Syria, and Pakistan; Africa is represented by the United Arab Republic, Guinea, one member to be chosen from the Portuguese colonies, which the delegates have decided are to be "freed," and the Léopoldville Congo; Latin America by Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Chile. One of the

jobs of the Secretariat, as laid down at Havana, is to establish in each continent an action group to carry out the resolutions of the conference. The first of these was established four days after the conference adjourned, when the Secretariat announced the creation of a Latin-American Solidarity Organization, with Havana as its permanent headquarters. It immediately began to issue calls to action.

The New Breed

One of the major Soviet aims of the Havana Conference was to give direct support to guerrilla leaders rather than to the established Communist Parties of their countries. This became clear with the list of delegates, many of whom were little known or had never been heard of before. Absent was Fabricio Ojeda of Venezuela; in his place came Pedro Medina, leader of the Venezuelan National Liberation Front. Luis Corvalán, Secretary General of the Chilean Communist Party, and many other old-line Communist politicos were also missing. Senator Salvador Allende, the defeated Marxist candidate in Chile's presidential elections of 1964, headed the Chilean delegation, but he played only a minor role.

"The real stars," according to the correspondent of *Le Monde*, "were the lean, bronzed men who had arrived, after so many detours, from the guerrilla camps of the four 'fighting' zones of the hemisphere: Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia, and Peru. . . ." *Népszabadság* of Budapest also commented on the makeup of the delegations, emphasizing that the conference was not in the "hands of catastrophic politicians" but in the firm grip of Castro-type revolutionaries. The reason why Moscow had chosen at Havana to throw its weight behind the guerrillas, rather than the Communist Parties, was underscored by *Le Monde's* conclusion that the conference was clearly aimed at obtaining results "in direct action, and more precisely in armed action." It observed correctly that "With the exception of those in Venezuela and Colombia, the orthodox Communist Parties in Latin America up to now have shown no great enthusiasm for guerrilla wars."

The special publicity given to guerrilla spokesmen obviously reflected Soviet determination to capture control of the conference by giving the lie to China's familiar hard-line attack against Moscow's "appeasement" of the U.S. and its failure to lend all-out support to

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

militant "wars of liberation." Throughout the conference, the Chinese delegates, as reported by Radio Peking, kept up a drumfire of criticism on this well-worn theme. In the end, the apparent contradiction between Russia's avowed policy of peaceful coexistence and the support it gave at Havana to the principle of "armed struggle" was resolved by typical Soviet logic. A special resolution on "Peaceful Coexistence" which was passed at the closing session of the conference on January 15 declared: "Peaceful coexistence applies only to relations between states with different social and political systems. It cannot apply to relations between social classes, between the exploited and the exploiters within separate countries, or between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors." This simply restated the Soviet line put forward a few days earlier by Rashidov.

The final declaration of the conference fully endorsed the thesis of "armed struggle." According to Tass, it "calls for expressions of militant, active, dynamic solidarity . . . for intensifying the anti-imperialist nature of the national liberation movements." The Chinese, it would seem, had reason to be satisfied. Even Castro's public and bitter denunciation of Peking the day before the conference opened, for backing down on its sugar-for-rice deal with Cuba, did not discourage them. On January 19, after the close of the conference, the New China News Agency reported: "The Tricontinental Peoples' Solidarity Movement ran into various difficulties at the outset. However, in accordance with the will of the people of the three continents, the movement is sweeping forward with irresistible momentum. . . ."

To many observers, however, the most substantial success of the Chinese at Havana—and probably their major reason for being present—was to prevent the Russians and their Cuban allies from gaining exclusive control not only of the movement in Latin America but above all of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization. This group grew out of the Bandung Conference of 1955 and the Chinese have long regarded it as their own special charge, even to the point of attempting to exclude the Soviets from membership. Although the point was left somewhat cloudy, it appeared that AAPSO, while participating fully in the new tricontinental organization,

would maintain its separate identity. For example, it was announced at Havana that AAPSO will hold its own conference next year in Peking.

The Jobs to Be Done

The final declaration of the Havana Conference is global indeed. The most significant of its general resolutions "proclaims the peoples' inalienable right to complete independence and the use of every form of struggle necessary, including armed battle, to win that right." It hailed the Vietnam war as "an inspiring example for the national liberation movement of the peoples of three continents." It urged a concerted campaign directed at the "governments of all peace-loving countries to recognize, *de facto* and *de jure*, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as the sole genuine and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people." It urged "the most powerful support" for American Negroes and the civil-rights movement, and stated that "In the uprisings in Watts Los Angeles and Chicago, the Afro-Americans openly declared that they were fighting against racism and U.S. imperialism in a common cause with their Vietnamese brothers."

As to Latin America, it called for maximum militancy by those "who are fighting with arms in their hands against the forces of domestic oligarchy which are in the service of the United States, as in Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, and Guatemala, or are being subjected to brutal persecution under military tyranny, as in Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, and other countries."

"Latin America," the document said, "is the rear of the most powerful and barbarous imperialism in the world and the mainstay of colonialism and neo-colonialism." It went on to map efforts to sabotage U.S. investments abroad: "Every blow dealt the U.S. and domestic oppressors by the Latin-American peoples has decisive effect in weakening U.S. imperialism." There are sections that deal with the "liberation" of Puerto Rico, which it classified as "under U.S. occupation," and the Dominican Republic, which, it said, has "set a valiant example of resistance to U.S. aggression." Puerto Rico's chief delegate, Norman Pietri, in addressing the conference on January 10, cited "the imperative need to win national independence in order to promote . . . total eradication of Yankee military installations in Puerto Rico and the threat they pose to the rest of Latin America."

Finally, the inspirational theme was summarized with a peroration: "Faced with the criminal alliance of the reactionary forces, the people of various countries in the three continents have reacted with active, vigorous, and militant solidarity, and with their readiness to reply to every act of imperialist aggression by revolutionary action, carrying on this battle until the complete liquidation of all forms of imperialist, colonial, and neo-colonial oppression."

AS ALREADY NOTED, the Latin-American Solidarity Organization, created on January 19, was the first of the three continental action groups to emerge from the Havana Conference. According to Agence France-Presse, the twenty-seven Latin-American delegations met with Fidel Castro and Pedro Medina of Venezuela. Cuban President Osvaldo Dórticos, the Cuban chiefs

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of staff of the army, and the principal Communist leaders were also present. In the course of the meeting it was decided that the organization would be permanently established in Cuba and that it would include representatives from all the Latin-American countries, as well as Puerto Rico and Trinidad-Tobago. With Medina as its Secretary General, it will presumably come under the general control of Captain Cienfuegos and his tricontinental Secretariat.

Its operations are already under way. On February 12, the Latin-American Solidarity Organization backed a call to action by the Tricontinental Committee to Aid Vietnam, another permanent organization that emerged from the conference. This appeal urged the recently departed delegates to launch "a wave of sabotage against Yankee interests throughout the world." It also called for "demonstrations, sit-ins, protests, meetings, and denunciations in front of United States embassies all over the world." A call also went out from Havana to "boycott production and refuse to load ships, or to transport arms or any kind of war material bound for North American troops."

Once again Puerto Rico came in for special attention. On February 10, according to *El Imparcial,* Puerto Rican "freedom fighters" established a "Free Puerto Rico" embassy in Havana, and on the same day signed a "pact of solidarity" with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam at its Havana headquarters. The Puerto Ricans claimed that they were "recognized as the only legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican people." Shortly thereafter, twenty-six Latin-American Communist delegations agreed to establish National Committees of Solidarity with Free Puerto Rico in their countries.

All members of the tricontinental organization must contribute funds to the Aid Vietnam Committee. One way to raise money was described by Pedro Medina in an interview broadcast by Radio Havana. The Vietcong delegation had presented the helmet of a U.S. pilot shot down over North Vietnam to the Venezuelans. In turn, he said, "The Venezuelan NFL gave the helmet to the Tricontinental Committee to Aid Vietnam." He continued, "We will wage a campaign with it, on the island of Cuba and in Latin America, and we will carry it to every continent to give more impact and more brilliance to the week of solidarity with Vietnam which is scheduled for March on all three continents." Similar "solidarity" demonstrations are planned for the United States mainland and Puerto Rico.

The Cuban Spearhead

Havana was a natural choice as the operational headquarters for worldwide subversion and wars of national liberation, for it is dedicatedly anti-American and pro-Soviet, and has a well-developed apparatus of subversion already active in the hemisphere. Following the Cuban missile crisis of October, 1962, many of the obsolete Soviet military establishments in Cuba were converted into guerrilla training camps, and new camps have also been constructed. The U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee listed ten such installations as early as 1963. Today, according to some intelligence estimates, there are forty-three camps equipped to train as many as ten thousand activists a year—guerrillas, terrorists, propagandists, experts in sabotage and espionage, and specialists in sophisticated radio equipment. The basic training period lasts four months, with longer periods for certain categories.

When the guerrilla candidate arrives in Havana by a clandestine route, he is given a questionnaire on areas and personalities vulnerable to subversion techniques. He is asked, for example, about targets for sabotage and the terrain surrounding those targets, about homosexual tendencies among members of his home-town police force, army units, and politicians, and about tax irregularities condoned by local bureaucrats. This information, checked and rechecked by contacts in the country in question, provides a starting point for campaigns of subversion.

Castro's Soviet-financed fishing fleet is especially useful in bringing guerrilla recruits to Cuba and reinfiltrating them into their homelands. According to a defecting crew member of one of the ships, "Cuban patrol boats and fishing vessels are continually introducing arms and men into Mexican territory."

The Cuban training program is co-ordinated with international Communist subversion. Vietcong, Soviet, Red Chinese, and Spanish Communist instructors teach recruits from Africa as well as from Latin America. Cuban Negro instructors have been used to train African recruits in special camps established in the Provinces of Las Villas and Oriente. One, identified as Sádez Gómez García, was killed while operating with guerrillas in the eastern Congolese district of Maniema. A diary found on his body indicated that he had arrived in the Congo from Cuba via Moscow, Prague, and the Tanzanian capital, Dar-es-Salaam. Defected Castro officers state that two hundred Africans have returned to Dar-es-Salaam following eight months of "leadership training" in the Minas del Frío guerrilla camp in Cuba. On September 17, Congolese government forces patrolling Lake Tanganyika intercepted and sank a troop and supply boat, the *Ajax,* which had been running Cuban-trained Congolese guerrillas from Tanzania into the eastern Congo. Last June, twenty-seven Senegalese were tried in Dakar and found guilty of subversion. All twenty-seven, it was brought out at the trial, also had completed eight months of training in Cuba.

Lumumba University in Moscow, according to a broadcast from the Soviet capital, is training thousands of Latin-American students. The broadcast, beamed to Latin America in the Quechua language of the Indians of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, said that when these students return to their homelands, "They will teach their brothers the modern techniques they have learned. But they will do more than teach. . . . They will fight alongside peasants and humble people to ensure that their countries have freedom."

The collaboration between Cuba and Soviet-bloc embassies in Latin-American subversion is exemplified in Ecuador, which broke relations with Cuba, Czechoslovakia, and Poland in April, 1962. After an uprising launched by a youth organization that took its inspiration from Castro,

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the government found that the Czech legation had been handing over funds to the Ecuadorian Communist Party obtained through the sale of Skoda trucks and other Communist-bloc products. Poland was also involved. Bolivia broke with Czechoslovakia in October, 1964, when the embassy in La Paz was shown to have delivered 500,000 Bolivian pesos to rebellious tin miners that were used to buy Czech weapons.

VENEZUELA, under almost constant attack for years from Cuban-supported guerrillas and terrorists, discovered last October that the Communists had set up an efficient underground arms factory on the outskirts of Caracas. There were "enough explosives to blow up Caracas," according to a Cabinet Minister, and the Director General of the Interior Ministry declared that "specialists from Havana, Moscow, and Peking are trying to get into Venezuela to execute terrorist operations" planned for 1966—what they called "The Year of the Explosives."

Castro-trained men have also infiltrated the notorious bandit groups of Colombia that have extorted more than a million dollars' ransom from relatives of 148 Colombian ranchers kidnapped over the past few years. Kidnapping has been used to raise funds by guerrillas in Guatemala, as well as to create an atmosphere of terror to disrupt the recent elections there. And in the remote valleys and mountains of Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, and Guatemala, minor government officials and pro-government peasants are sometimes murdered, Vietcong style. Che Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare* is the handbook for Latin-American rebel leaders: it preaches the same tactics urged by the Tricontinental Conference "to sow seeds of discord everywhere and keep the oligarchs busy putting out the fires."

The Soviet Union has backed up its investment in direct support for subversion by diplomatic maneuvers in the United Nations. It has striven constantly to divert OAS complaints against Cuban subversion from the OAS to the Security Council, where the Soviet veto could block any punitive measures. It has also succeeded in heading off in the world body any definition of aggression that would include "wars of liberation."

At the same time, Moscow has pursued its double-track policy of "peaceful coexistence," attempting to maintain friendly diplomatic relations with the very governments its agents are working to destroy. In Uruguay, on the verge of bankruptcy and beset with social problems as a result of a disastrously overextended welfare state, the Soviets found one of the hemisphere's weakest points. The oversized embassy in Montevideo has long been the center of a clandestine network extending throughout Latin America. In December Soviet agents were accused by the government of having engineered a strike that paralyzed the country for days. This intervention, according to one Latin-American expert in Washington, was an "act of supreme contempt" for Uruguay's weakness.

The Uruguayan Foreign Minister asked the Soviet ambassador for an explanation of his government's role at the Havana Conference and was not impressed by the answer that Sharaf Rashidov was speaking "privately." National Council President-elect Alberto Heber Usher called the reply "insulting." Heber has now vowed to muster the votes in Uruguay's ruling nine-man National Council to break relations with Moscow as a first step toward diplomatic rupture with the Communist powers.

IN OTHER Latin-American countries, particularly those most exposed to subversion, the leaders did not mince words either. Peruvian Premier Daniel Becarra de la Flor said that the Soviet Union was involved in "tacit aggression," and that delegate Rashidov's statements in Havana now made Soviet activities in Peru official. Minister of the Interior Gonzalo Barrios Bustillos of Venezuela recommended the use of force to combat the subversion planned at the conference, which he told Agence France-Presse "is nothing more or less than a consequence

of the blind struggle the Communists are waging against the United States, particularly in Southeast Asia." In 1964, the Cuban newpaper *Revolución* had made more or less the same point, declaring that "Colombia and Venezuela form the embryo of a vast Latin-American Vietnam."

The resolution which the OAS passed on February 2 "emphatically" condemned the policy of aggression and intervention adopted at Havana. Chile and Mexico abstained, saying that while they deplored intervention from whatever source, they considered the resolution exceeded the Council's powers. The U.S. alternate delegate, Ward Allen, voted in favor, but was less fiery than some of his Latin-American colleagues. The resolution denounced in particular "the open participation . . . of official or officially sponsored delegations of member states of the United Nations" which on December 21 had voted in the General Assembly in favor of a nonintervention and self-determination resolution. Among those voting in favor was the Soviet Union, which a few days later sent its delegation to Havana.

The central issue was stated before the OAS by Colombian Ambassador Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa, who said, "If there is to be war and no peace, let it at least be known who declared it."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chicago's Scholarly Cop

HAL BRUNO

CHICAGO

WHILE much of the rest of the country is experiencing an increase in the crime rate, Chicago's honestly compiled statistics show a twelve per cent decline in major crime in 1965; where civil-rights leaders in other cities demand civilian review boards, they praise the manner in which Chicago police have handled demonstrations and nipped riots before they reached the point of Harlem, Watts, or North Philadelphia; where it once was an accepted fact of life that the police were corrupted by hoodlums and controlled by politicians, even the most cynical Chicagoan today admits that the system is honest and it is only individual officers who go wrong.

None of this was true when Orlando W. Wilson took command of Chicago's scandal-ridden police department six years ago. At that time, he was expected to be mere window dressing to save the Democratic machine from election defeat after the revelations of "the babbling burglar" uncovered shocking criminal activity on the part of Chicago's police. "The Professor is no match for these thieves," said those who knew Chicago. But they didn't know "O.W."—as he is called—and didn't know that Mayor Richard J. Daley really meant it when he repeated his favorite slogan "Good Government is Good Politics" and pledged full support to Wilson's cleanup job.

The conditions Wilson found had their roots in the prohibition era, when many of the police captains had first walked a beat and learned Chicago's laissez-faire law-enforcement philosophy. The citizenry was not much better than the crooked cops it condemned, for there was a sort of warped civic pride in the legend of Al Capone. A smart motorist had a five-dollar bill attached to his driver's license, just as a smart burglar carried a roll of bills to "make bond" in an alley if necessary.

IT SELDOM was necessary, for there was widespread inefficiency as well as corruption. A person calling the police on a busy Saturday night was liable to wait an hour or more for a squad car to show up. On a major investigation, detective units worked as rivals rather than as members of the same department. A citizen who complained about police wrongdoing was treated like a criminal and his complaint would be lost in the shuffle if the officer involved had political "clout." The newspapers campaigned and exposed, but made little impression on a jaded public opinion.

Police-district boundaries roughly corresponded to ward boundaries, and certain aldermen had veto power over who was assigned to command their neighborhood station. The quality of police protection varied from district to district, depending on the captain and his political sponsor. Many ran their districts as baronies for their own profit. There *were* honest, hard-working policemen who hated the system but were unable to do anything about it and wouldn't break the code of silence inside the department. Those who did were transferred from station to station, given unpleasant assignments, and blocked from promotion by low efficiency marks. Some managed to rise in spite of everything, but they were the exception. The police commissioner himself, Timothy J. O'Connor, was personally honest, but the system prevented him from getting rid of the dishonest men he despised.

After Chicago's apathy was shattered by the scandalous exposures of January, 1960, newspapers were flooded with letters relating further horror stories of police villainy. Some were written on the flimsy yellow paper used for official police reports, indicating that policemen themselves were fed up and were finally blowing the whistle for outside help.

The Right Man

Orlando Wilson had started his police career in 1921 as a beat patrolman on the Berkeley force while earning his bachelor's degree at the University of California. His professional reputation was built in the eleven years he was chief of the Wichita, Kansas, police and his service during the Second World War as a colonel in the military government in Italy and Germany. He was dean at California's School of Criminology and had directed reorganization surveys for a dozen police departments when Mayor Daley asked him to head an advisory panel assigned to choose a new commissioner for Chicago. After three weeks of deliberation, the other members of the panel turned to Wilson as the best man for the job. He hesitated at first to accept the challenge. Later, he agreed to a three-year contract with the understanding that he would have a free hand, a large budget, and Mayor Daley's full support.

Wilson, a thin, austere man who speaks in precise academic phrases and measures every word, seemed out of place in the flamboyant Chicago setting. He started small, taking the title of superintendent instead of commissioner, making such seemingly minor changes as painting

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over the black squad cars with a conspicuous blue-and-white design, replacing red dome lights with spectacular blue flashers, and equipping the cars with weird wailing sirens that became known as "Wilson's warblers."

While the ward heelers scoffed at such innocuous beginnings, Wilson quietly completed his survey of the department. His first big step was to reduce the number of police districts from thirty-eight to twenty-one. The old districts had been drawn up in horse-and-buggy days and were an administrative burden in an era of motorized patrol; Wilson wanted bigger districts with more cars assigned to smaller beats. The reorganization served also to break the back of the old system by eliminating entire districts and wiping out police stations that had been private clubs for the ward politicians. Their protests echoed in the City Hall corridors as Wilson changed boundaries, closed stations, and transferred officers without consulting anyone outside the department. The word came back from the mayor's office that Wilson had Daley's support in *everything*.

An Ounce of Prevention

His position established, Wilson proceeded to turn the department upside down. Operations were decentralized. The detective bureau, for example, was distributed to six areas, giving each section of the city its own homicide, robbery, burglary, and stolen-car specialists. Civilian experts were installed in such departmental areas as personnel management, cost accounting, record keeping, and public relations. Civilians took over secretarial jobs; women guards replaced policemen at school crossings. As a result, more than a thousand men were released, most going into patrol vehicles, which Wilson increased from 1,209 to 1,798. Chicago has fewer policemen today—10,270 compared with 10,630 in 1960—but a civilian staff of 2,797 that has been more than doubled. Wilson has also saved police manpower by sending one-man squad cars into outlying districts with low crime rates.

Wilson doesn't think much of the theory that a patrolman walking a beat is the best deterrent to crime. Modern criminals use cars, he points out. "The best means available for the prevention of crime is aggressive patrol of streets, alleys, and public ways by uniformed officers in conspicuously marked cars. . . . For a crime to occur, two factors must be present—opportunity and desire. It is the function of the police to minimize the opportunities by open, conspicuous, and aggressive patrol."

A Wilson axiom is that "It is better to prevent a crime than it is to deal with it after it occurs." This is the work of the Task Force, a mobile reserve of five hundred men deployed day and night throughout the city.

Task Force men work in uniform or plainclothes, depending upon their assignment, which is determined by the daily crime pattern as revealed by statistics fed into a computer at headquarters. On a typical night in one section of the city, a two-man Task Force team in an unmarked car will cruise a four-block area where car thieves have been active. Another team is staked out for a burglar who breaks into apartments from rear porches. A Tactical Undercover Force—known as the "Tuf Squad"—works skid row by posing as drunken conventioneers to attract jackrollers. Other Task Force units are patrolling side streets where the pattern shows a rapist strikes between midnight and four. An entire group meets shortly before two in the morning to cover a neighborhood where a robbery gang has been hitting taverns at closing time. But most of the Task Force on a typical night is working random stop-and-quiz missions in high-crime districts. A car with a tail light out gives the police an excuse to stop and question the driver; they find a .32-caliber revolver in the glove compartment. A motorist looks as it he "just doesn't fit" the expensive car he's driving; they've recovered another stolen auto.

By conducting more than a quarter million such "field interrogations" in the course of a year, the Task Force will find more than a thousand illegal guns, recover seven hundred stolen autos, and make almost eight thousand arrests. Those concerned with civil liberties argue that despite these results, the Task Force stop-and-quiz operation skirts the thin edge of police harassment. Wilson replies by saying, "Law enforcement necessarily restricts the liberty and freedom of movement of those persons who, by engaging in criminal activity, interfere with the rights of others." Translated, this means that only criminals have to worry about harassment.

Aggressive police patrols are the foundation of Wilson's system. It's impossible to go more than a few blocks in a high-crime district without encountering some type of police vehicle. Every car in the vicinity responds to a radio call for a potentially serious crime. Out-of-town officers are dazzled to see ten or twelve squad cars arrive on the scene within two minutes for a routine "burglary in progress" call. Communications are a key factor in making the system work, and it has cost $2 million to install the world's most modern police radio network. A publicity campaign called Operation Crime Stop encourages citizens to dial PO5-1313 at the first suspicion of trouble.

Within seconds, a caller is speaking directly to the radio dispatcher in charge of the area the phone call is coming from. If lines are busy and a call is not answered in fifteen

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seconds, it is automatically switched to the officer in command of the communications center. Radio dispatchers work in front of brightly lit consoles with huge street maps showing the assignment of every beat car in their zones. The system operates at a speed that puts every citizen in almost direct communication with policemen in the nearest available squad car.

Wilson is the first to agree that his system is only as good as the men who make it work. The entire training and promotion structure of the department has been overhauled, with examinations held at least every two years. Patrolmen who waited as long as a dozen years for a first chance to take the sergeant's exam were a major source of low morale and bad morals in the old days. Bright, eager young men who once would have been buried now rise rapidly to command positions. Lieutenants and sergeants are on the street with their men. A patrolman complains that "You can't make an arrest without a sergeant looking over your shoulder," and old-timers criticize the table of organization as being topheavy. But it produces "accountability" to superior officers —a missing factor in the corrupt pre-Wilson era.

It is difficult today for a policeman to get away with much even if he wants to. The Internal Investigations Division seeks out dishonesty inside the department and handles all complaints against officers. The division is thoroughly feared and hated by the rank and file, who complain bitterly that a policeman is considered guilty until proved innocent. However, a tough Internal Investigations unit is a policeman's best protection against unfair charges of brutality or corruption.

Wilson believes that the very nature of police work produces complaints and mistakes, and that there must be room for human error: "Police work . . . is tough work, it is dangerous work, it requires guts, and it often results in hurting people's feelings and gives rise to complaints. The man who receives no complaints about his actions is either exceptionally tactful or he simply is not doing an active, aggressive police job."

Although urged to be aggressive, the Chicago policeman is also cautioned to be "professional"—another favorite word with Wilson—and show restraint in dealing with citizens. He is convinced that a police department cannot be totally effective unless it has popular support. "Anger or hatred expressed toward the policeman is not always intended against him as an individual or against the department," he points out. "It may be an expression of revolt against authority or society in general."

This is particularly true in Negro slum districts that have the city's highest crime rate. But supervision, discipline, and professionalism have paid off for the Chicago police in

the sensitive area of civil rights. Whatever a policeman's personal feelings may be about integration—and many don't like it—he has been made to understand that his job includes protecting the demonstrators' right to peaceful protest. When arrests are necessary, the standard operating procedure is to have four men carry a picket to the wagon, thereby eliminating the use of hammerlocks or nightsticks. Policemen with movie cameras and tape recorders get the whole thing down on film and tape to defend the department against any subsequent charge of brutality.

Darn That Smile!

Such charges are seldom made, and Chicago has produced no serious demand for a civilian review board. Wilson would firmly oppose any such demand on the basis that "It is the function of a police department to take care of its own disciplinary problems."

Wilson meets periodically with Chicago civil-rights leaders and has encouraged transfers of white and Negro officers for the sole purpose of promoting integration within the department. The police have their own human-relations section headed by an expert in the field who works closely with other city and private agencies in the ghetto areas. When rioting broke out on the West Side early last summer, the police moved in with speed and force to gain control of the streets and prevent what happened in Watts on the same weekend. Chicago, unlike Los Angeles, had hundreds of Negro policemen—some in high command positions—who played a leading role in stopping the riot on the second night. When racial disturbances have hit a mixed neighborhood, the police have displayed impressive impartiality in making arrests.

The professional temper of the Chicago police can be measured, in part, by the white commander who remarked, "It wouldn't hurt any of us to be Negro for six months so we can understand what they're up against." A Task Force sergeant—who admits that he has no love for any type of demonstrator—told of a secret weapon he discovered while on picket-line duty last summer. "They used to bug me with those taunting looks," he said, "until I smiled at one of them and could see that it bugged *him*. Now I just smile and it drives them nuts."

Hard Hats and Guinea Pigs

He will have plenty of chances to smile this summer when Martin Luther King launches in Chicago his first attack on de facto school segregation, slum housing, and job discrimination in the North. One of King's early moves was to accept an invitation from Wilson to attend a staff meeting at police headquarters. Here King outlined his objectives and warned that civil disobedience might be necessary. In such a case, he said, the police would be notified ahead of time. Wilson replied that his men would protect and assist the demonstrators—until a law was broken. King said he was willing to go to jail in Chicago and added, with thanks, that it was the first city in which he had been invited to meet with top police officials.

It hasn't been altogether smooth sailing for O. W. Wilson. Some Chicagoans even now refuse to believe that much has changed and motorists still tell stories about curbside

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"traffic courts." A certain element simply can't get accustomed to things being on the square and fondly recalls the bad old days when things could be "taken care of." Every so often, the newspapers come up with unpleasant articles about alleged shakedowns, vice rackets, and wide-open districts. But most people are convinced that Wilson has done an outstanding job, and the Press Club voted him Chicagoan of the Year for 1965. Several thousand letters of praise have been written to the superintendent's office from citizens who have had favorable personal dealings with the police since the scandals of 1960.

Inside the department, there are mixed feelings about "O.W." "We've got some 'hard hats' who miss the old days," a patrolman said, "but the younger men are pretty eager to do police work and feel they can get ahead if they keep their noses clean." Not all of Wilson's critics have larceny in their hearts; some sincerely believe there is too much emphasis on new theories and not enough on "alley-wise" experience. "We're the guinea pigs to put flesh on a skeleton he devised and the system has to work whether it can or not," is one sour comment. However, morale has improved, and most policemen think the department has an integrity and public support it never had before.

WILSON was deeply disappointed when the Illinois legislature rejected a Chicago tax bill that would have raised police salaries and provided funds to hire more men. A Chicago patrolman starts at $6,228 and reaches a ceiling of $7,548 after forty-two months. Higher pay is necessary to attract qualified men, and it costs $3.2 million to add five hundred recruits. Wilson gloomily predicts a twenty per cent increase in the crime rate if 1,500 men are not added to the department by 1970.

A Wilson-styled police department is expensive; the budget climbed from $72 million in 1960 to $103 million this year. Some critics insist that anyone could accomplish as much with the same money, authority, and backing of the mayor. But Wilson is the man who did it, and his system, expensive at it is, is a great deal less costly than crime.

Africa's Officers Take Command

W. ARTHUR LEWIS

IN NOVEMBER, 1958, the government of the Sudan was overthrown by its army. This was the first of seventeen military interventions in fourteen of the newly independent African states. These interventions have shocked the politicians of Africa, accustomed to fearing only other politicians and foreign imperialists. To have to reckon with the army at home is something they had not bargained for.

The military interventions have been of two kinds: mutinies by the men on the one hand and by the officer corps on the other. Mutinies by the men against their officers or governments have occurred in Togo, the Léopoldville Congo, Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda. The men were complaining about pay, promotions, or threatened curtailment of the army budget. More of these are possible but unlikely.

Officers have overthrown the government in the Sudan, both Congos, Dahomey, Algeria, the Central African Republic, Upper Volta, Nigeria, and Ghana, and have attempted coups abortively in Gabon and Ethiopia. Whereas a soldiers' mutiny opens the way to a complete breakdown of law and order, as in the Léopoldville Congo in 1960, the intervention of the officer corps has been to save a country from political chaos. Such coups are relatively bloodless, unlike civilian revolutions where masses of poorly armed men hurl themselves upon the armed forces of the state. In all these countries, the army has revolted to get rid of corrupt, tyrannical, or inefficient governments. Ghana, the most recent case, is not typical, since its government was the most corrupt, tyrannical, and inefficient in Africa. For many of the others, only two of these adjectives were applicable; e.g., corrupt and tyrannical (Nigeria), corrupt and inefficient (Sudan), or tyrannical and inefficient (Algeria).

Corruption is far more flagrant and prevalent in West Africa than in East or Central Africa. This striking regional difference in integrity is perhaps due to the fact that East and Central Africa had to struggle for their independence and for their rights to education, jobs, and justice against entrenched white settlers practicing vicious racial discrimination. This kind of struggle calls for men of character. By comparison, West Africa received its independence from Britain and France almost on a platter, since the imperial interest in West Africa was relatively small.

GHANA led Africa in tyranny as well as in corruption. The 1,100 prisoners reportedly now released, some after seven years' detention, had never been before a court. Many were not even involved in politics, but had landed in jail merely because they had offended some high party functionary in a private quarrel. The tyranny derived to some extent from the cruelty of those who ran the country—no other African country has such a dreadful record of imprisonments—but it also had two other sources, resulting from Ghana's policies.

One source was tribal dissension. Only ten per cent of Ghanaian families grow the cocoa that is Ghana's principal export crop, and the majority of these are in Ashanti. Nkrumah's troubles began in 1954 when he suddenly announced, with the price of cocoa standing at £500 a ton, that everything above £180 a ton would be taken in taxation. The Ashanti farmers, who up to then had supported Nkrumah, turned against him. They organized a coalition with the Dagomba and the Ewe, who had never liked Nkrumah (his main support was Fanti), and this coalition was joined by the Ga in 1957.

Nkrumah nevertheless won the elections of 1954 and 1956, but as soon as the British left, he began to detain without trial and imprison all the opposition leaders. With-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out these imprisonments his government could not have survived, since many of his own party leaders would have defected to the opposition coalition as his domestic and foreign failures accumulated.

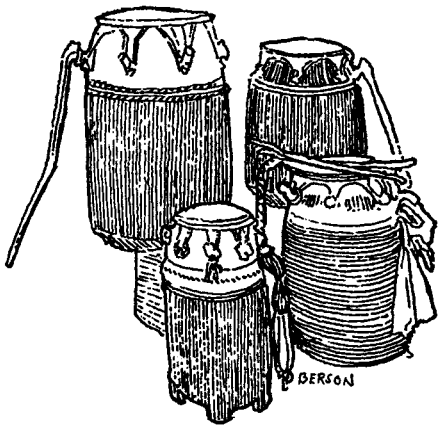
The moral is important. Each African state is divided into tribes that differ in economic wealth and potential even more widely than Mississippi differs from California. One often reads that these states need a strong central government to tax the rich tribes on behalf of the poor tribes. Such a policy is more apt to lead to a breakup of the state. Ghana would have been less turbulent if it had had a less centralized constitution, allowing more regional autonomy.

THE OTHER factor that drove the government to tyranny was its economic policy. For years there was lavish public expenditure, turning a surplus of £200 million into a deficit of £250 million. Perhaps as much as a third of this was wasted on prestige projects, subventions to opposition parties in other African countries, innumerable embassies, and losses incurred by state enterprises. Still, one cannot spend £450 million without doing a lot of good, and visitors have been impressed by the rapid expansion of Ghana's schools, roads, water supplies, power facilities, and the like.

The official statistics—whose frankness was one of the marvels of Nkrumah's régime—estimate that the national income has been growing at about 4.5 per cent a year. This is a respectable rate, even though much of the increased output was not worth its price. Nevertheless, the economic situation was unhealthy for two reasons:

First, the Ghana government could not hope to tax or borrow enough money to develop Ghana exclusively through state enterprises. Huge expenditures on basic utilities and transport facilities were sustainable only if they induced an ever-increasing flow of private investment. Since the government's other policies were hostile to private investment, the growth of the economy would have to stop as soon as the government had exhausted its borrowing power. This stage was reached a year ago.

Second, it must be remembered that output and consumption are not the same. Per capita output can grow rapidly while per capita consumption falls if the government diverts output to its own purposes. The official figures show that this is what happened in Ghana. Output was growing, but consumption per capita was falling, and in consequence revolution was brewing. A



people will share additional output with the government, but it cannot normally be persuaded to accept an absolute cut in living standards.

Moreover, the government's tool for cutting consumption was import licensing. This was administered so inefficiently that the shops were emptied. The small merchants, who had been Nkrumah's strongest supporters, now became his enemies.

The Nigerian Example

Western books and magazines are full of praise for the charisma of the wonderful leaders who are engaged in the vital task of modernizing new states and creating national unity by force. The truth is rather that more than half of these leaders are engaged in the nonvital task of lining their pockets, and their "charisma" is such that when they fall the people come out into the streets and dance. The one-party state is not an African invention engineered with special relevance for the African personality. Rather it is a cheap import, and experience shows that it brings no more happiness to Africa than it did to its European sources. At the same time, it is equally clear that the multiparty system, involving ruthless competition between organized political groups, is potentially just as damaging to good government in Africa at this time.

One reason for this is that bad politicians tend to drive out the good—unless they are restrained by some independent force. Bad politicians will resort to lies, bribery, violence, inflammation of tribal passions, and other vicious weapons. And once in power they abolish free elections, free trade unions, and free discussion. In western countries with a long democratic tradition, the restraining force is a public opinion independent of the government and cynical about politicians. In Africa, where a large independent public opinion does not yet exist, some states have been fortunate in inheriting wise leaders from the independence struggle. Elsewhere, the only restraint on bad politicians has proved to be the army.

If Ghana has shown how easily the one-party state lapses into tyranny, Nigeria shows that ruthless party competition can reach the same result by aggravating regional hostilities. The Federation of Nigeria, as originally created, was an unstable union between one tyrannous and reactionary régime (the North) and two democratic and progressive groups (the West, tribally mainly Yoruba, and the East, mainly Ibo).

The North was a medieval Islamic tyranny, in which powerful emirs rigged the elections in favor of their relatives and retainers. By virtue of its half of the national population, the North was assured of dominance in the federal government. It claimed the Prime Ministership and supplied for it a gentle and honest liberal, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa; but he was powerless to correct the abuses he detested.

SIR ABUBAKAR suggested to the leaders of the East and the West that all three should form a coalition government. The leader of the East, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, agreed and assumed the presidency. But the leader of the West, Obafemi Awolowo, refused, preferring to remain in opposition and to fight each of the other two in their regions.

From that moment peace was impossible, since this decision excluded the Yoruba from federal decision-making. The federal government spends a lot of money; for a whole

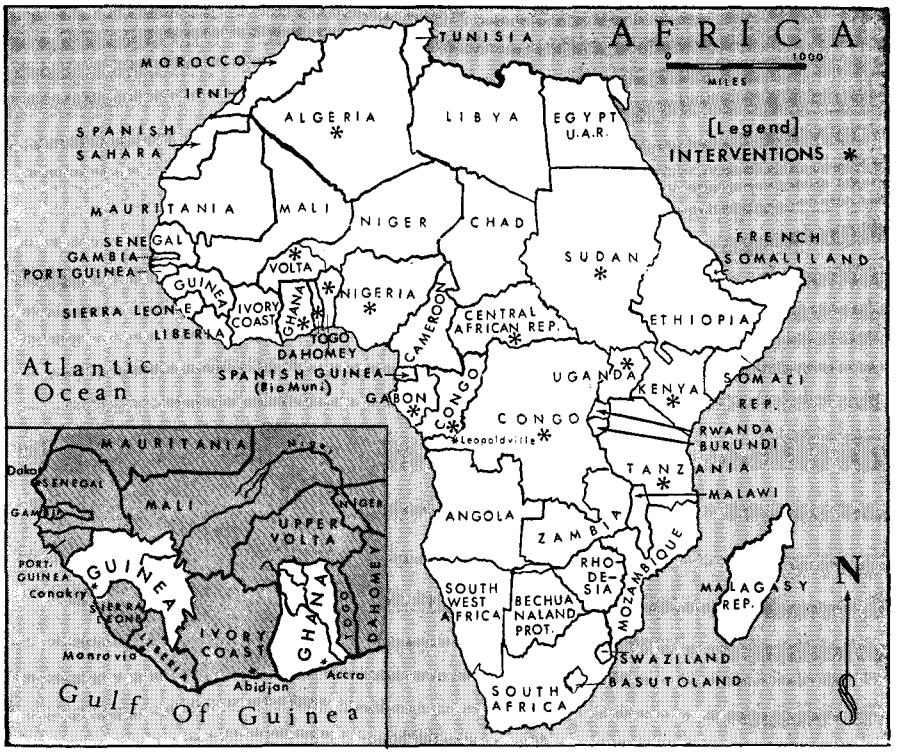
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

region of eleven million people to be effectively disenfranchised (for in Nigeria that is what being in the opposition came to) was intolerable. Awolowo was bitterly attacked for this decision in his own party, which eventually split in two.

The Northern leaders immediately picked up the dissident half of the Western party, and by throwing all the powers of the federal government on its side, enabled it to take control of the Western Region government. Once in office, it proceeded to entrench itself by rigging the elections just as the Northerners were doing.

The rigging of the federal election in December, 1964, and of the regional election in October, 1965, was totally shameless. After the October election, the Western opposition (now allied with the Eastern leaders) could no longer contain itself. Guerrilla warfare broke out, in the course of which two hundred people were killed.

The time had come for the army to move. Corruption at all levels of government had reached Ghanaian proportions, the constitution had broken down, and there was no other way of restoring democratic processes.



Africa: Military Intervention in New States

Officers and Democrats

Since neither the one-party state nor ruthless party competition answers Africa's needs, many influential Africans today are speculating about the possibility of a "no-party" state. This essentially is what Julius Nyerere has given to Tanganyika (but not yet to Zanzibar, its partner in Tanzania). His is a one-party state in which really free elections are held for all offices except for that of President. Since his organizaton lacks both program and party discipline, it can only by courtesy be called a political party. This may suit Tanganyika, which has no great regional groupings hostile to each other, but in most other African states free elections must lead to the emergence of separate parties on regional or tribal lines.

It is natural and proper for each group to want to be represented by its own leaders. It is also natural and proper for each group to want to participate in decision-making. In the African context, a political system that gives the government to some groups and relegates others to opposition is inappropriate. Only coalition rule meets the need of all the many groups to feel that they are having their say in the government and getting their fair share of its favors. The true meaning of democracy is not that the majority shall triumph over the minority. It is rather that everybody who is affected by a decision shall have the chance to participate—directly or through freely chosen representatives—in making that decision. In Africa's plural societies, only coalition government can convince all the tribes that the government is legitimate.

Professional politicians, however, hate coalition government and will avoid it if they can. Armies, on the other hand, dislike political wranglings; they prefer to install a coalition of party leaders and force them to co-operate.

To western intellectuals, the news of people dancing in the street following an army coup seems bizarre. We derive our ideas about armies from experience of the nineteenth century and earlier, and by what we know of the chaos that Asian and Latin-American warlords have so often created in their lust for power and pillage. The African officer class, both East and West, trained in recent years at Sandhurst or Saint-Cyr, is not in this tradition. Its leaders often are in the vanguard of progress in their countries. They have no aristocratic links and are much better educated than the majority of African politicians. Their western-style army tradition is based on science, promotion by merit, honesty, and discipline. Most of the cadres are mixed tribally, and have been taught to believe in national unity. In most of the matters that western liberals value, almost any group of officers is far superior to the average African one-party cabinet of professional politicians.

The Army and After

The African armies have moved into politics reluctantly, impelled not only by their sense of outrage but also by family connections, which in Africa are so wide that whenever a government acts arbitrarily against civilians it must offend some soldier. Private grievance thus is added to public conscience. Considering the way some African politicians are behaving, we may confidently expect another two or three army coups in the near future.

What comes after the army coup? Even the immediate prospect is not always clear. The Nigerian Federation cannot be stable

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unless the North is broken up into smaller regions and the emirs deprived of their power to fix elections. This will be a dangerous operation. In Ghana there probably remains a hard core of ten to twenty per cent of the population brainwashed into Nkrumahism, which will complicate Ghana politics for years, much as Peronism complicates the politics of Argentina.

In external relations, too, the fall of Nkrumah will have big repercussions. Though most of his fellow Presidents resented Nkrumah's interference in their domestic politics, his drive to create a single African state, and his traffic with Russians and Chinese, they respected his strong anti-colonialist passions, and he still had a magnetic influence in their meetings. Guinea's decision to give him credentials at meetings of heads of state puts what may prove to be an intolerable strain on the Organisation of African Unity.

To ensure internal security is the first priority and takes time, but the army must retire from government as soon as it can safely do so. Armies do not govern well, because they are not good at the political arts of compromise and persuasion. The Sudan, where after ruling for six years the army was thrown out in 1964 by civilians playing on its internal dissensions, is a warning to all African armies to get out of government as soon as they can.

THE PRESENT ROLE of armies after disposing of bad governments is exclusively to install coalition governments of political leaders and stand warningly behind them. This is only a temporary role. Now that the imperial powers are gone, education is spreading swiftly throughout Africa. In some countries ten per cent of the children now go to secondary schools, as compared with less than one per cent ten years ago, and soon most countries will have eighty per cent in primary schools.

This new generation is not taken in by charisma or by fanciful tales of forcible modernization. It is hostile to corrupt and inefficient leaders, and in time will learn to discipline them without army assistance. Too many bad politicians have had a field day in Africa. Now time is catching up with them.

Canada's Bold Defense Experiment

FREDERICK NOSSAL

WHEN Paul Theodore Hellyer took over as Canada's Minister of National Defense in the spring of 1963, he found that the nation's armed forces were being run by a chiefs-of-staff committee and between two hundred and three hundred other committees below it. "It was a hell of a way to run a railroad," he told Canadian businessmen at a Board of Trade Club dinner in Toronto not long ago. "An aide once said to me that if I had a knotty problem, I could put it into the committee system and never see it again."

Instead, Paul Hellyer decided to run the railroad his own way. With the help of officers, economists, efficiency experts, and his personal qualities of dynamism and common sense, Hellyer decided to undertake a unique experiment: he announced a ten-year program under which Canada's three armed forces would be integrated into the world's first single land, sea, and air service.

A Minor Earthquake

The hurdles would be immense, the political hazards perhaps even greater. But if his experiment succeeds, the economic rewards will be impressive: an estimated $1 billion saved. Vast changes in the well-entrenched military establishment have occurred already, and by the middle of next year, Canada's centennial, the country will have a unified armed force of about 110,000 soldiers, sailors, and airmen. They will wear one uniform, sport one set of insignia, and have one set of rank titles.

Paul Hellyer prepared the Canadian public—and the three armed services—for integration by issuing a government White Paper published in March, 1964, warning that the nation's defense establishment was inefficient, that a serious imbalance existed between the modest size of Canada's operational military forces and its overstaffed headquarters organization. The White Paper outlined plans for replacing the senior command of the navy, army, and air force with a single defense staff in order to increase operating efficiency and reduce duplication of facilities. Air Chief Marshal Frank R. Miller, who for the previous four years had been the chairman of the unwieldy Chiefs of Staff Committee, was named the first Canadian Chief of the Defense Staff.

The bold Canadian experiment is causing a minor earthquake in military circles around the world. Many governments had vaguely thought about a similar move, but none of them had dared to challenge the powerful military chiefs who hold privileged positions in all nations, not even Robert S. McNamara, who presides over the largest and costliest military machine in the world. But already nine western nations have begun formal studies of the Canadian White Paper. Officials in Ottawa believe that many others, including Communist states, will watch Canada's experiment closely to see whether an integrated service is feasible in their own countries.

Canada is fortunate in that it can afford to appoint as Cabinet Ministers realistic, practical men who do not have to paint nuclear shapes on their office walls as a political gim-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mick. The Defense Ministers of the great powers still claim they have no choice but to go on planning as if nuclear war could break out tomorrow.

A few years ago Canada, too, had put practically all its defense eggs in the Big War basket. But Defense Minister Hellyer has said openly that he does not believe there will be a third world war because thermonuclear battles would not be rational for any nation or group of nations. Hence Canada has chosen to adopt an entirely new concept of the armed forces.

Three Little Empires

In setting up the single service, Hellyer first of all streamlined the chain of command. He felt that Canada's three military establishments were topheavy with brass. Ottawa set a budget ceiling of $1.5 billion, and the service chiefs will now have to operate within that figure. Under the old three-service structure, millions were being drained away by high salaries instead of being spent on modern equipment. Hellyer was appalled to find that Canada's Defense Headquarters alone employed several hundred public-relations officers.

Moreover, virtually nobody in the three armed services knew how well, or for that matter how badly, Canada was being defended. The army, navy, and air force all were building their little empires, and the service chiefs were reporting directly —and separately—to the Defense Minister, as were the chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee and the head of Canada's Defense Research Board.

Having integrated headquarters by June of last year, Paul Hellyer was ready with his second major step: streamlining the field commands. The eleven commands in Canada—four for the army, two for the navy, and five for the air force—were replaced by six integrated commands: Mobile, Maritime, Air Transport, Air Defense, Training, and Matériel.

¶ Mobile Command was created from Canada's First and Third Infantry Brigade groups and will get a new force of about two hundred ground-support aircraft. Eventually this force will be ready for instant action in Europe or for peace-keeping operations anywhere in the world.

¶ The Maritime Command consists of Canada's sea and air forces on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts. Its headquarters is in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and there is a deputy command in Esquimalt, British Columbia. Both these ports have been important Canadian naval bases for many years. Maritime Command's primary task will be anti-submarine defense. (It is keeping an eye on a two-hundred-ton hydrofoil being built by de Havilland. This swift, tiny craft has already hit sixty knots during tests in calm waters, and its main job will be to hunt down nuclear submarines. Two support ships will also help move heavy equipment for the Mobile Command.)

¶ Air Transport Command will be prepared to move troops to world

trouble spots by means of heavy freighter aircraft. Training Command (based in Winnipeg, Manitoba) will recruit, select, and prepare men for the integrated service, and Matériel Command (at Rockcliffe, near Ottawa) will provide logistic support.

¶ Air Defense Command will look after Canada's commitments to the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD). But Hellyer believes that as the threat of bomber attack diminishes in the missile age—and as Canada's Voodoo interceptor aircraft and Bomarc missiles become outdated—this command will decline in importance. It may disappear altogether early in the 1970's.

The six commands will be getting $1.5 billion worth of new equipment between now and 1969. By 1974, Canada's armed forces are scheduled to spend a total of $4 billion on nuclear and conventional weapons and other military hardware. Canada's lengthy shopping list includes new aircraft, new ships, and a wide range of modern guns and troop carriers for the army.

THE Royal Canadian Air Force has been promised 125 Northrop F-5 Freedom Fighter ground-support aircraft at a total cost of about $200 million. This plane will be conventionally armed, and its primary job will be to give close support to the army. De Havilland was given an initial order of fifteen Buffalo medium transport aircraft. Four more C-130E Hercules "air trucks" will bring Canada's fleet of these versatile, long-range troop and equipment transports to twenty-four.

The Royal Canadian Navy is getting four helicopter-equipped destroyers, each of which will cost between $30 and $35 million. These ships, to be built in Canada, will be adapted from the *Annapolis*-class design, and will serve primarily as floating bases for the Sea King heavy helicopter, which is capable of detecting and destroying nuclear submarines. Eventually the ships will be equipped with an anti-aircraft missile system. Canada has ordered twelve Sea Kings.

The navy will also get two *Provider*-type fleet-supply ships costing about $18 million each, which will supply anti-submarine vessels at sea and serve as transports for the army's heavy equipment. One ship will be stationed on each of Canada's coasts.

For the army, Hellyer has on order new 155-mm. howitzers, new 81-mm. mortars, the highly successful Swedish Carl Gustav anti-tank weapon that is going into service with other NATO armies, and more anti-tank guided-missile equipment. Air-transportable vehicles that can operate across rough country and over snow, engineering equipment that can be air-dropped, and about a thousand new armored personnel carriers will, Hellyer hopes, make the Canadian Army into an efficient, highly mobile fighting force.

Almost three years ago, when he was first appointed Defense Minister, Hellyer made the agreement with

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his Cabinet colleagues that has enabled him to buy all this costly military hardware: he promised Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson that he would maintain defense spending at the current level of $1.5 billion a year, but extracted the promise that any savings he was able to make by streamlining could then be spent on modern weapons.

Dissident Voices

Obviously, innovations as radical as Hellyer's were bound to cause some protests. Die-hard military men warned that the single service would destroy traditions and lower morale. Soldiers, sailors, and airmen, it was predicted, would lose their identity. Older officers who were passed over in the Hellyer revolution and retired prematurely grumbled that millions were being wasted in training men for the single service when top-class personnel were still available. Among junior officers, a few dissidents mumbled that from now on there would be merely "military workers" rather than soldiers, sailors, and airmen loyal to their own particular fighting force. Prime Minister Pearson's veteran political foe, Conservative leader John Diefenbaker, has said that the morale of the Canadian armed forces is lower than it has ever been because of the forced retirements imposed by Ottawa. But Diefenbaker's was little more than election talk. The public outcry that some Cabinet members had anticipated simply did not occur, and no matter how he tried, Diefenbaker couldn't get Canadian voters greatly interested in the assorted grievances of retired officers.

On the contrary, the press and public backed Hellyer's unified force right from the start. Young people thought it made sense. Taxpayers were pleased at potential savings. The three Canadian chiefs of staff silenced any officer under them who dared to predict that integration would be a disastrous failure. They realized that in Paul Hellyer they had a good friend if they were on his side, and a formidable foe if they were not. They decided to back him.

The Defense Minister has never conceived of his role as that of a civilian liaison between the service chiefs and the government. As he saw it from the beginning, his first and possibly his only job was to give Canada the best defense system that a middle power with strict limits on its budget can afford. He made numerous visits to foreign defense establishments—American, British, French, and West German. After one of these, he decided that an integrated recruiting system would save Canadians an estimated $1.2 million a year.

He reduced the number of recruiting centers from fifty-two to thirty-four, and their staff establishment from 490 to 322. Several useless airbases were closed. He disbanded militia regiments and even suggested to the service chiefs that they might try to cut down on military bands. He discovered that Canada's numerous commands had more senior officers in peacetime than during the Second World War, when the nation's armed forces were six times as large. This meant that less than $200 million a year was available for new equipment, whereas $1.3 billion was being spent just to keep the inefficient military machine working.

WHEN challenged on the public platform about his intentions, particularly in cities where military bases contribute vital income to the local economy, Paul Hellyer is careful how he chooses his words. Integration is somewhat different from unification, he points out. "Sailors will always be sailors, soldiers will aways be soldiers, and airmen will always be airmen," he said during a pre-election tour of Halifax, a dedicated navy town.

The Minister was playing with words, of course. Sailors will always sail ships, yes, but in Canada's new force, army- and air force-trained men eventually will take over many key jobs afloat—such as operating guided-missile systems and flying giant helicopters. It will hardly matter whether they call themselves sailors or fliers or missile men. All the men of each rank (ranks, too, have been integrated) will be dressed in the same uniform.

One hurdle that may prove embarrassing to Ottawa is the impact of integration on the Canadian-American joint defense production program. According to Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Air Force (Installations and Logistics) Robert H. Charles, integration could result in larger Canadian equipment procurement in the United States. This would have the effect of reversing the favorable balance that Canada presently enjoys under the defense-sharing program. The original expectation was that the reciprocal flow of defense orders would be approximately equal. But since the start of the program in 1959, Canada has accumulated a favorable balance in the exchange. During the period from 1959 to 1964, U.S. military procurement in Canada totaled $915 million, while Canadian procurements in America amounted to only $852 million, leaving a balance in Canada's favor of $63 million. This increased last year to above $100 million.

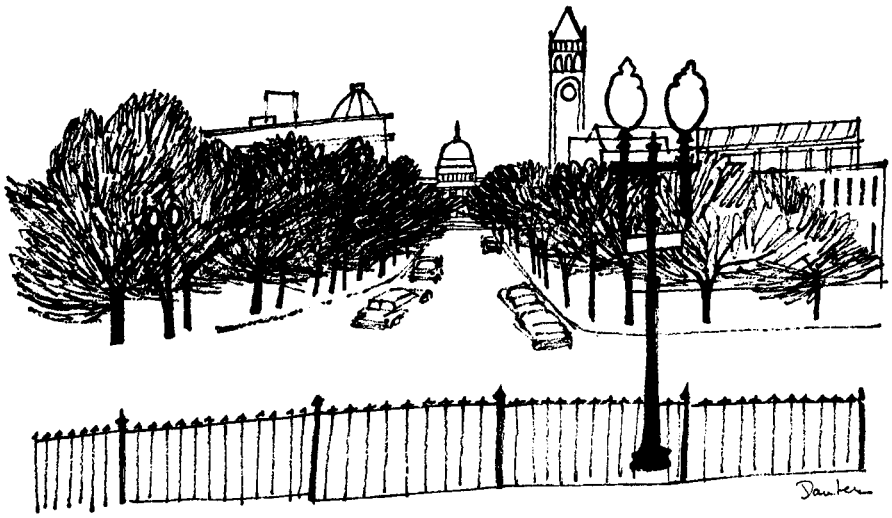
BUT THESE SUMS will be relatively unimportant if Paul Hellyer can hold down the defense budget to $1.5 billion. In a country where the gross national product is rising annually by more than five per cent, it would be a major economic triumph. At present, Canadian defense expenditures represent only about 2.7 per cent of the GNP, which is expected to reach some $55 billion or more this year.

Even today, by comparison with defense spending in the United States, Canada gets off very lightly. Excluding Vietnam, the latest U.S. defense budget calls for $48 billion, or 6.5 per cent of the estimated GNP. And Canada's relatively low defense budget has obviously proved a useful weapon with which to fight any entrenched individual interests that Hellyer has come across in the three services.

Canada's Defense Department so far has not said much about the kind of uniform that Canadian military men will wear, nor has it mentioned the titles they will use. A ceremonial committee is studying these questions, which are of little importance from an economic standpoint but vital to the men.

With his flair for doing the right thing at the right time, however, Paul Hellyer will probably keep the style of the uniforms and the integrated rank system secret until the 1967 Confederation centennial celebrations.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Co-ordinating the Great Society

STEPHEN K. BAILEY

PROBABLY no series of legislative enactments in U.S. history has created more complex administrative problems than those recently passed under Lyndon Johnson's leadership. They have three things in common: their implementation cuts across existing departmental and agency lines within the Federal government; they demand almost heroic responses from state and local governments in order to succeed; they require a combination of technical and administrative skills that are critically scarce in the society at large. Despite the demands of the war in Vietnam, the critical shortage is not money but people to carry out the programs and effective administrative machinery. Neither Medicare nor aid to education nor the poverty program has either of these at the moment.

The poverty program alone, based on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, is being handled by a multiplicity of agencies. Some of its projects are directly administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity, headed by Sargent Shriver and based in the Executive Office of the President; others are not. While the Job Corps is run by OEO, the Neighborhood Youth Corps is administered by the Department of Labor; the Work Experience Program by the Welfare Administration of Health, Education and Welfare; the Rural Family Loan Program by the Farmers Home Administration of the Department of Agriculture; the Economic Opportunity loans by the Small Business Administration. And this catalogue does not begin to touch efforts related to the poverty program but not formally a part of it: for example, the Rural Community Development Service in the Department of Agriculture; the Economic Development program in Commerce; and the Appalachian Regional Commission, an autonomous organizational entity composed of state governors and a single Federal representative.

Such various sources of attack provide an undeniable impetus to the campaign against poverty, but they do not make for administrative tidiness. The difficulties in Sargent Shriver's position are patent: vested with over-all responsibility for the poverty program, he must negotiate, co-ordinate, even command and veto activities of departments whose Secretaries outrank him in status-oriented Washington. It is perhaps symptomatic of his situation that the Economic Opportunity Council, headed by Shriver and composed of the Cabinet Secretaries and agency directors with responsibilities in the drive against poverty, met only four times in the first year of the program.

There have been some attempts to unsnarl the administrative lines. Agriculture and OEO, for example, have established a task force to co-ordinate Federal efforts to eliminate rural poverty. But the search is still on for a way of providing general direction for the total war on poverty. The miracle is that in spite of the administrative confusion, Shriver can point to the award of 1,800 Community Action grants, half a million Head Start youngsters, eighty-seven Job Corps centers in operation, and 1,800 trained VISTA volunteers—all accomplished in eighteen months of frenetic activity. But the administrative problems remain, and they will get worse before they get better.

The Proliferation Barrier

The problem of administering programs whose boundaries are amorphous is a general characteristic of the Great Society. A recent New York *Times* report on education found that, despite the formal responsibilities of HEW's Office of Education, important new education programs are found in most of the eleven Office of Economic Opportunity programs, as well as in five programs in Cabinet departments. Civil-rights responsibilities are similarly assigned, and have recently been reassigned, to each individual governmental agency. In spite of heroic work by Vice President Humphrey, no central bureau effectively co-ordinates the various efforts and policies in the field of human rights.

At present more than forty different Federal programs provide aid for urban development, yet the most careful of studies—that of the Advisory Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations—fails to reveal "any evidence of a unified urban development policy." In the field as in Washington, interagency contacts are predominantly informal. Where formal arrangements have been made, they are usually bilateral rather than multilateral. The new Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) will make inroads in this confusion, but it will not end it. Bureaus of at least four other Cabinet departments, as well as a half dozen or so independent agencies, administer grant programs to urban areas. As a result, separate

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Federally assisted programs tackling different aspects of community development—physical, economic, and social—are often quite separate. In the area of assistance for local waste-disposal facilities alone, four different Federal agencies handle similar grant or loan programs in dissimilar ways.

If barriers to effective administration seem nearly insurmountable in Washington, they grow even more so away from Washington. Between the nation's capital and the ninety per cent of Federal employees who work in other parts of the country, among Federal field agencies, within state governments, within and between local jurisdictions, and among Federal, state, local, and private agencies working at similar purposes, a lack of co-operation and the absence of effective co-ordination threaten the very base of the President's programs.

Room at the Top and Elsewhere

There is often imperfect understanding between Federal field agencies and their headquarters in Washington. Federal regional and district offices representing scores of departments, agencies, and bureaus are sprawled haphazardly across the landscape. State and local officials find real difficulty in getting answers to their questions at local Federal offices. Problems must be referred upward through the hierarchy, laterally across agency jurisdictions, and screened at many stages along the way. The urgently needed decentralization of decision making can be achieved only after a thorough reorganization of the Federal field structure.

But implementation of the President's program is equally dependent for its success upon state and local governments. Here too the hazards are severe: metropolitan areas, each composed of dozens and even hundreds of anarchic local government units that are largely unconcerned with the needs of the whole interdependent area; state legislatures whose malapportionment has made them unconcerned with the plight of their urban areas for generations; and state bureaucracies inadequately staffed to fulfill the needed functions of program co-ordination and information gathering for rational community and regional development.

Affecting all levels of government from the operating level to high policymaking positions is the dire shortage of trained and talented people to plan and manage the thousands of projects and programs of the Great Society. I can perhaps best illustrate this dearth of manpower with an example from the field of education. The searching examination of our school system that was stimulated by the launching of the first Sputnik in 1957 revealed serious deficiencies in the training and competence of a dismaying proportion of our classroom teachers. And the problem reaches upward into the top levels of state educational systems. "Few states can command competent personnel," Roald Campbell, one of the most talented educational administrators, now dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Chicago, commented recently. "Possibly only the New York State department is prepared to be an equal partner with the U.S. Office of Education."

And what of the situation in the Office of Education itself? With an operating budget that has multiplied fourfold in the last two years, it is undergoing a determined effort to reorganize itself to meet its responsibilities. One step below its excellent chief administrators, in the crucial top fifty or so civil-service posts, nearly forty-five per cent of the positions were "vacant" as of last summer. Many others are still filled by holdovers from the more relaxed atmosphere of the Office's years of fiscal and programmatic neglect.

ANOTHER characteristic of the Great Society programs is the degree to which they become of necessity involved in the competition and conflict of local political machines and social institutions across the country. The OEO, for example, has authorized a third of a billion dollars in Community Action grants, each of them based on projects designed by community leaders, local officials, and neighborhood councils in more than a thousand different localities. Thus, along with the benefits of broad citizen participation, these Great Society programs inherit the headaches of local political struggles.

A case in point is the battle joined by Mayor William F. Walsh in Syracuse, New York, and an independent Community Development Association. To the Republican mayor, this Federally subsidized campaign to organize, as a part of its program, a "democratic" voter-registration drive in the city's poor wards looked suspiciously like an effort to build "Democratic" organizations. The conflict over the $425,000 program has been fought almost daily in the news media of Syracuse since last spring, and at various stages has taken either the mayor or program participants to Albany, Washington, and the LBJ Ranch. In a similar vein, the Conference of Mayors has complained that city-sponsored Community Action agencies are sometimes bypassed; and governors have testified before Congressional committees on the erosion of state sovereignty implicit in direct OEO links to local communities.

In many cities the poverty program has indeed brought about a revolutionary assault on the established social structure. The now famous requirement set forth in Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act for "maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served" calls upon the administrator to bring into his organizing effort the very people he is trying to help, the traditionally alienated and effectively disfranchised. How widely the representatives of the poor will be effective partners in the design and implementation of the poverty program remains to be seen. In San Francisco a persistent and well-organized campaign brought them a series of victories that now leave them in numerical control of both the San Francisco Economic Opportunity Council and the Council's executive board. More commonly, as in Syracuse, neighborhood representatives find themselves outnumbered and outmaneuvered. But expectations have been aroused and will doubtless continue to complicate administrative operations of the Community Action programs.

At the same time, the Great Society is increasingly dependent upon the co-operation and initiative

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of commerce and industry. Appalachia's $840 million in new roads will not rehabilitate the region unless new trucks are rolling on them. Regional development plans, no matter how well formulated, will not bring progress to other economically backward areas unless businesses and factories take imaginative advantage of the $3.25-billion Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. Streams and rivers and air will not be effectively cleansed without the active co-operation of the managers of the private economy (or for that matter the public communities).

This kind of Federal partnership with private enterprise in achieving the Great Society is already at work in the Job Corps, where a number of contracts to run residential training centers have been let to corporations whose usual activities are far afield from education. While Shriver has praised the record of corporation-run camps for their efficiency and their job-oriented programs, a highly publicized report on one of them, Camp Kilmer, by a panel of Rutgers professors criticized the camp's authoritarian atmosphere and its administrators' lack of understanding of young people raised in poverty. Yet training centers run by educational or community organizations have had their problems, too—brawling, prostitution, marijuana, sloppy bookkeeping. As Job Corps Director Dr. Otis A. Singletary has pointed out, "We don't recruit angels into the Job Corps." A certain degree of mayhem is built in.

Assigning the Challenge

It is easy—and politically popular—to overstate the administrative difficulties created by the Great Society programs. But administrative tidiness is not the be-all and end-all of government, and competition is often as desirable among government agencies as it is elsewhere. Nonetheless, the dangers are real and the need for new administrative machinery and methods correspondingly urgent. Federal programs must be more effectively related to each other and must complement state and local programs without the sacrifice of initiative, experimentation, and momentum.

What should the President's role be in such a broad and ambitious enterprise? Certainly not that of personally supervising the operation of the national government, but rather of setting the necessary forces to work. For one thing, he can strengthen the capacity of his own Executive Office to recommend and enforce organizational change. In the West Wing of the White House and in the office building across the driveway are the President's supporting staff—those most capable of breaking the inertia and self-interest that protect existing jurisdictional patterns in the Federal establishment. The Bureau of the Budget, especially, needs additional staff to perform management surveys and to recommend administrative reforms. The entire field structure of the Federal government, as I said earlier, requires drastic overhauling and a decentralization of decision making. And with increasing authority assigned to Federal field offices, new interagency information sharing, planning, and program co-ordination must be made possible at the regional as well as at the Washington level. The President should also insist that "overhead" money be given to state and local governments to assist their administrators in setting to rights their present haphazard participation in the scores of Federal aid programs.

The President has already led the way by raising the standard for top Federal administrators. He must now set higher standards for recruitment at all levels. By establishing suitable incentives or sanctions he will also encourage greater effectiveness at the state and local levels.

Indeed, the President in his 1966 Budget Message and in subsequent special rural and urban development messages has already indicated his awareness of what is required. Ultimately, however, the real burden of administering the Great Society is not on the President. The Great Society should be seen rather as a Presidential challenge to the American people. Looked at in this way, it represents a return to local responsibility. Its success depends not upon the administrative genius of the President but rather upon the co-operative energies of officials and citizens throughout the nation.

The Delta: Rich Land And Poor People

FOSTER DAVIS

GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI

ON JANUARY 31, a cold, cloudy Monday, several cars carrying about forty Negroes and whites charged past a startled guard at the gate of the phased-out Air Force base near here. They stopped at a vacant one-story wooden building, broke the door open, and set up camp inside. A few hours later a second wave arrived, bringing stoves, mattresses, and food with them.

The demonstration, staged to dramatize the plea of Mississippi Delta Negroes for food, housing, and land, caught the small Air Force detachment completely off guard. After repeated appeals to leave had failed, 150 Air Police were flown from bases as far away as Colorado. The next day, in a scene vividly recorded by network television cameramen, the APs forcibly hauled out the resisting demonstrators.

Some of the evicted squatters spent the night at "Tent City," a small complex of tents and a community center used to house plantation Negroes who had gone on strike last May for an hourly wage of $1.25. Under the guidance of the Reverend Laurice Walker of the Delta Ministry, one of the militant civil-rights organizations backing the strike, its leaders had ranged the Delta, urging workers to drop their hoes. Planters who still needed hand labor to get the cotton in had a bad scare. But with a continually declining demand for hand labor and a growing supply of people eager for work, the strike of tenant farmers

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

never had a chance. The original strikers and their families, who had been evicted from the plantation after they refused an offer to return to work for their old wages of from three to six dollars a day, began setting up housekeeping in tents provided by the Delta Ministry on five acres it had bought outside Greenville.

The Delta Ministry is a social-action arm of the National Council of Churches. From civil rights it has focused increasingly upon economics, directing its appeal to the landless and the dispossessed and drawing its battle map along economic class lines. It was formed during 1964 to act as a "ministry of reconciliation" between whites and Negroes in the Delta; its leadership is Northern. There is now almost no communication between the Delta Ministry and white moderates in Mississippi, of whom there are a surprising number, and the Ministry has little regard for the Negro doctor, grocer, or businessman of Mississippi. Its feelings are reciprocated.

ECONOMICS is supplanting race as the basic problem in the Mississippi Delta, a fact that was conspicuous in both last May's tenant strike and the January "squat-in." The air-base demonstrators weren't after the right to eat in a white restaurant. They were in effect saying that they had no money even to eat in a Negro restaurant.

Paradoxically, the economic facts of life in what is one of the richest soil basins in the United States have been getting sterner at a time when the government-bonded warehouses here are stacked high with bales of cotton. The common denominator of the jammed cotton warehouses, the air-base invasion, and the farm-labor strike is that they illustrate what has become the central problem of the Delta: how to deal with a stagnant single-crop agricultural economy.

Technological change has been accelerating since the early 1940's, when the tractor began increasingly to replace the mule on the big plantations. It was at that time, moreover, that many workers left the farms for better-paying wartime jobs in the cities, causing Delta planters to purchase even more mechanized equipment. As the rural population

has continued to decline and the end of an era in seasonal labor comes in sight, Negroes across the Delta have been laid off by landowners whose plantations they have lived on for years. Though the tenant and his family are often told that they may continue to stay rent-free, there is no longer any income for them. To make matters worse, the government is now encouraging cotton planters to cut back production. "Somebody done nailed us on the cross," said an old tenant farmer in Sunflower County who had been told that he was no longer needed. "Don't know who it is, but I believe it's the government."

The farm bill signed into law last year places a premium on cutting down cotton acreage as a measure to reduce the huge surpluses that the planter, with his increased efficiency, has produced. Two basic approaches to the problem of protecting the farmer have been tried. The first is to maintain a high guaranteed market price through price-support loans. The second method, adopted for cotton in the new farm bill, combines price-support loans based on the lower world market quotation, with direct subsidy payments to farmers who agree to reduce their acreage. This method protects the planter, who still has his income, but tends to hurt others connected with the operation. The dollars no longer turn over. Since the planter grows less cotton, he doesn't need to purchase new machinery. He doesn't buy so much oil and gasoline; he doesn't hire so many people. Most predictions are that the demand for farm labor in the Delta this year will decline by about twenty thousand jobs, or approximately half of last year's estimated thirty-nine thousand seasonal workers. The economics are recessive right down the line.

The farm bill is packed with incentives to encourage the planter to cut acreage by as much as thirty-five per cent. Planter after planter, when asked how much he would cut production this year, replied "Thirty-five per cent. There isn't anything else you can do."

Idle Land . . .

A planter who doesn't reduce his acreage receives no government support. He may produce as much cotton on as much acreage as he wants, but he will have to sell at world market prices, generally around 21 cents a pound, a losing proposition. But if he does reduce his acreage he will receive the 21 cents plus a 9.42-cent-per-pound subsidy on sixty-five per cent of his allotment—the amount of land on which he is allowed to grow cotton and still participate in the government's farm program.

This year, the planter must cut his allotment by at least 12.5 per cent to qualify. To persuade him to cut acreage still more, he is offered payments for "diversion of land." He gets 10.5 cents per pound for the cotton he doesn't produce, which is figured on his production record in past years. (An average production figure in the Delta is 700 pounds of cotton per acre.) A planter with a 100-acre allotment who takes the full thirty-five per cent cut would get about $16,400 in government payments. Under the subsidy legislation, a farmer who reduces his cotton acreage may not plant another crop on the idle land. This year, much of the Southern earth will be fallow because of legislation fought bitterly by cotton producers.

The shift of emphasis from the high price-support loan program regulated by the Department of Agriculture to the present one of direct payment authorized by Congress is the outstanding feature of the new farm bill. All the Southerners' alternative proposals retained the basic loan structure, which they preferred, among other reasons, because the support price fixed by the Department of Agriculture would be less vulnerable to political pressure than the direct payment rate set by an urban-controlled Congress. The Southern position was that aggressiveness on the world market coupled with a loan program would both reduce the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

15,000,000-bale surplus and maintain the economy of cotton-producing areas. Though the United States once controlled sixty per cent of the world cotton market, the figure had recently dipped to about forty per cent and this year will probably stand at thirty per cent.

But the Deep South cotton-growing forces, which waged a last-ditch fight against the bill, were defeated. The main reason, perhaps, is the shift of legislative power from rural to urban areas. It has become increasingly difficult for a Congressman from an urban constituency to understand why he should support a farm program costing five times what it did thirty years ago, when there were twice as many farmers.

. . . and Idle Hands

It isn't just the farm bill that has created a near-crisis situation in the Delta, for advanced production techniques are also throwing Negroes out of work. Herbicides sprayed on the earth before the cotton even sprouts have cut choppings to one per season instead of the usual five. Mechanical cotton harvesters have also become more efficient. In 1960 about forty-two per cent of Mississippi cotton was harvested by machine. This year, the figure will stand at between ninety and ninety-five per cent.

The Delta's leaders have been making increasing efforts to cope with the predicament. They have welcomed Federally financed training programs. Greenville, which owns the two thousand acres upon which Greenville Air Force Base is built, has been trying to get it turned back to the city since it was phased out in March, 1965. The city has planned a vocational and technical training school as well as a college. They will be administered on an integrated basis.

Northerners such as Representative Joseph Y. Resnick (D., New York) have said that this amounts to a reward to the state for "long years of neglect and abuse toward a majority of its citizens." Actually, by Mississippi standards, Greenville has a rather progressive record in its relations with its large Negro population. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission, after its hearings last year in Jackson, concluded that Greenville is "the kind of model every state needs." White and Negro civic organizations last year paid for a full-page advertisement in the *Delta Democrat-Times* of Greenville endorsing equality of employment. No civil-rights worker has ever been beaten in Greenville. And in a decision that is a milestone for Southern justice, Oliver Lee Williams, a

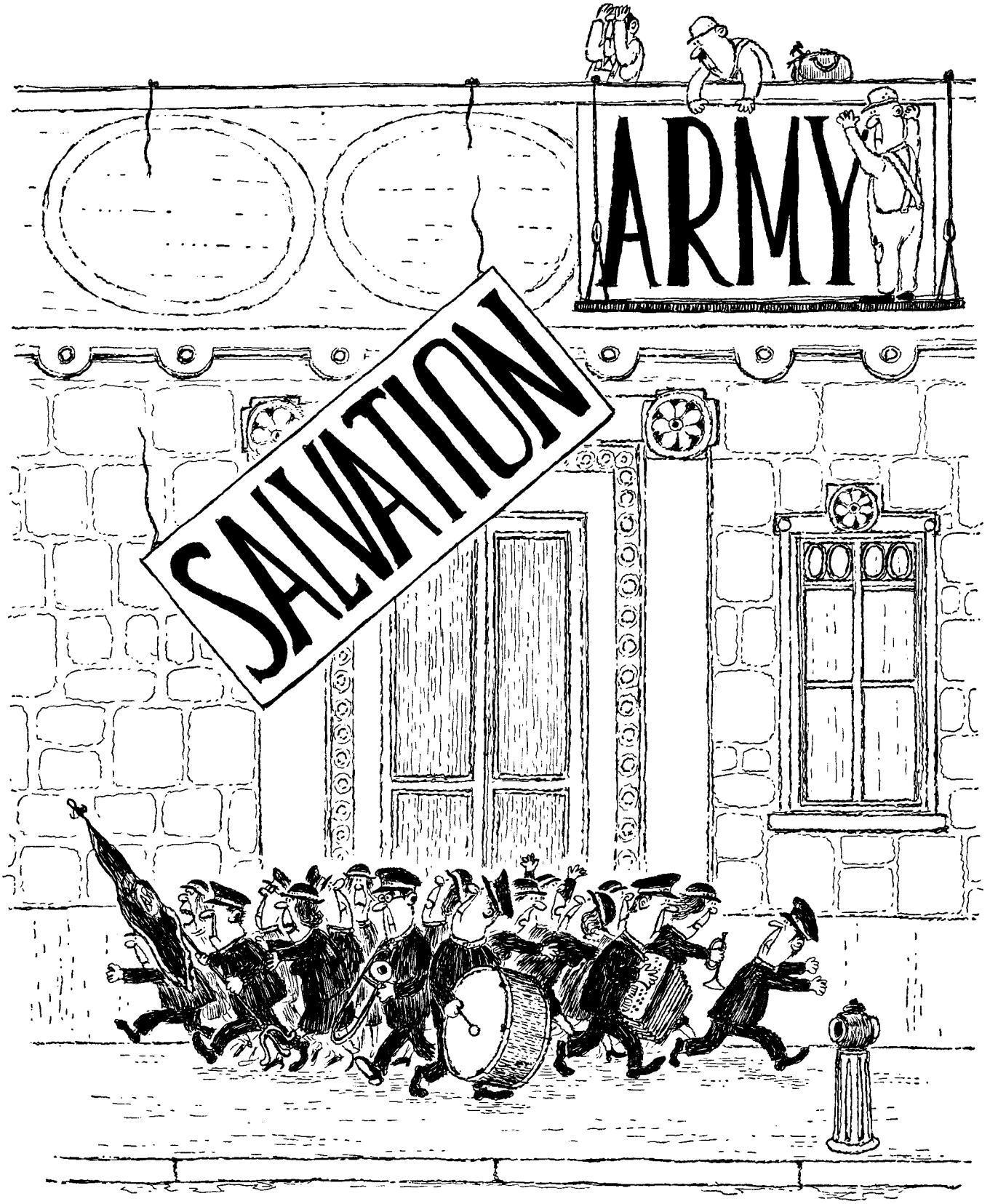
young Negro charged with the rape of a white girl, was represented by a Greenville lawyer and, although he admitted having intercourse with the girl, was freed.

THE BASIC APPROACH of officials here is that the old people will have to be taken care of until they die and that the young ones must be educated. An illiterate man or woman who has done nothing but wield a hoe for thirty years is probably untrainable. Such people must be fed, clothed, and housed all the year round, yet the surplus-commodity program in Mississippi runs only during the severe winter months. A new program financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity will extend by several months the period during which food is distributed. But this still leaves a gap. Welfare from the state is available only to those under eighteen and over sixty-five (except for the blind and disabled). This means that many of those who will be out of work this year cannot expect to receive relief from the state.

For all the criticism the Federal government has taken from Mississippi, the state has not been slow to seek Federal poverty aid. Head Start programs for pre-school children operated throughout the Delta last year and will be increased this year, with a $5.6-million OEO grant for the state. Federal money is also paying for a survey of unemployment in Washington County that may be expanded to include the entire Delta. The government has approved nearly $900,000 for operation of a vocational and technical training program at the former Greenville Air Force Base to begin next month, and there are Neighborhood Youth Corps workers throughout the Delta. There is also a statewide $7-million adult-education program being run by the Catholic Diocese of Natchez-Jackson, which aims to provide the basic skills or reading, writing, and arithmetic. It will support its students, many of whom will travel from plantation shacks for their first formal classroom sessions.

THESE programs, which basically emphasize education, offer hope that the Delta will be able to make the transition from a one-crop economy to reasonable diversification. The heart of the problem of bringing vitality to the region is the development of a trained labor force to attract industry. The Delta has a magnificent water supply and good river transportation. But the kind of labor needed for a petroleum refinery, for example, is scarce. There is probably no Delta town of any size which has not had the repeated experience of losing good industrial prospects because of a lack of skilled labor. The state does not have the money to provide the quality mass education needed. The only answer is Federal dollars, carefully administered. And these are being sought with an eagerness that is only a step removed from the desperation of the dispossessed of Tent City or that of the Air Base squatters.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



By Fernando Krahn

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Resolutions for 1934

Part of an unpublished love letter from a 'short, ambiguous person'

DYLAN THOMAS

As THIS is the season of the year to make resolutions, I shall devote some of my time and, let it be hoped, some of yours, to the propounding of much idealistic nonsense to which it is my intention to adhere. This is such an ugly sentence that the brain naturally turns to the question of ugliness. Now there is nothing on God's earth that is, in itself, an ugly thing; it is the sickness of the mind that turns a thing sick and the dirtiness of the mind that turns a thing dirty. I do not speak of parliaments and committees, eternally ugly things, for they are composed of a collection of ugly minds; I speak of the pig and the popular conception of death. The pig is a particular animal and will eat only what is good for him; because what he eats is not good for us it does not follow that it is a messy food. The pig lies down in dung to sleep, because dung is warm and soft; he would probably think it a very dirty thing indeed to sleep on a sheet. Death is said to be ugly only because we entertain an ugly conception of the body. A live body is a building around the soul, and a dead body a building without it; without the soul a body breaks, but broken pieces are beautiful and meaningful because the soul has made them so and has left its marks. Just as a live body has its rhythms and its pattern and its promise (promise is perhaps the greatest thing in the world), so has a dead body; and not only an abstract pattern but a physical one. A dead body promises the earth as a live body promises its mate; and the earth is our mate. Looking on one dead, we should say, there lies beauty, for it has housed beauty, the soul being beautiful; just as, on looking on an empty house, we should say, there stands strength (or anything else) for it has housed strength, strength being beautiful. What has this to do with a resolution? It leads me to resolve that I shall never take things for granted, but that I shall attempt to take them as they are, that nothing is ugly except what I make ugly, and that the lowest and the highest are level to the eyes of the air.

I resolve not to label the brain into separate compartments, that is, not to differentiate between what is in me that writes poetry and what is in me that says, here comes one o'clock; at this time I lunch. That is, again, a resolution not to differentiate between what is called rational and what is called irrational, but to attempt to create, or to let be created, one rationalism. It is said to be mad to write poetry and sane to lunch at one o'clock; but it is the other way about: Art is praise and it is sane to praise, for, praising, we praise the godliness that gives us sanity; the clock is a symbol of the limitations of time, and time is limitless; therefore it is wrong to obey the clock and right to eat not when hands of the clock, but the fingers of hunger, dictate. I resolve firstly to *make* poetry and secondly to write it; there is poetry in the hands of the clock if only I can realize that the clock is a limitation, and can express, in my poetry, the knowledge of that limitation and the knowledge of illimitability. I can learn, by such resolving, to say that nothing in this world is uninteresting. How can a thing have no interest that *is* in this world, that has the world around it, that has the associations of a million million minds engrained in it? A chunk of stone is as interesting as

© 1966 by the Trustees for the copyrights of Dylan Thomas.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a cathedral, or even more interesting, for it is the cathedral in essence; it gave substance to the building of the cathedral and meaning to the meaning of the cathedral, for stones are sermons, as are all things. And if I can bring myself to know, not to think, that nothing is uninteresting, I can broaden my own outlook and believe once more, as I so passionately believed and so passionately *want* to believe, in the magic of this burning and bewildering universe, in the meaning and the power of symbols, in the miracle of myself & of all mortals, in the divinity that is so near us and so longing to be nearer, in the staggering, bloody, starry wonder of the sky I can see above and the sky I can think of below. When I learn that the stars I see may be but the backs of the stars I see *there*, I am filled with the terror which is the beginning of love. They tell me space is endless and space curves. And I understand.

And now that I am started I can't stop; I've saddled a bright horse, and his brightness, not his body, keeps me bouncing up and down like a rubber star on his back. I have never raved to you before for as long as this, have I? But it really is natural raving. Before one gets to a truth in one's own mind one has to cut through so many crusts of self-hypocrisy and doubt, self-bluff and hypnotism; the polishing of phrases rubs off the sharp madness of the words and leaves only their blunt sanity. Here I am writing naturally; take it or leave it; this stream is yours, if you want it, and can go on for as long as the teeth hold in the gums, for as long as (any image will do) the hairs of your head are as sweet as the ropes that hang down from the hands of the sky, hanging down to be pulled at—if one had the strength.

And to begin, I want to believe in dragons, not the windy, tank-like creature who quarrelled with St. George, but the vast and fiery legend, bearing half a planet on its shoulders, with hell in its nostrils and heaven in its scales, with a comet in the steaming socket of its eye, with a couple of dragon-lets at its side, with a grandmother at home knitting unbelievably large socks and finding counties in her hair.

I want to imagine a new colour, so much whiter than white that white is black.

I want to forget all that I have ever written and start again, informed with a new wonder, empty of all my old dreariness, and rid of the sophistication which is disease. How can I ever lie on my belly on the floor, turning a narrow thought over and over again on the tip of my tongue, crying in my wordy wilderness, mean of spirit, brooding over the death of my finger which lies straight in front of me? How can I, when I have news to scream up to heaven, and when heaven has news to scream down to me? I want to read the headlines in the sky: birth of a star, death of a comet. I want to believe, to believe for ever, that heaven is *being*, a state of being, and the only hell is the hell of myself. I want to burn hell with its own flames.

No, but my wants are not all cloudy as that; I want to live and love & be loved; I want to praise and be praised; I want to sleep and wake, and look upon my sleeping as only another waking; I want to live and die.

We don't worship nature; nature is what we wish it and worships us; we stop the sun, we tell the sun to go on.

"The universe is wild and full of marvels." In the shape of a boy, and a funny boy at that, I have only a very short time to learn how mad and marvellous it is; I think in cells; one day I may think in rains. All round us, now and forever, a spirit is bearing and killing and resurrecting a body; I care not a damn for Christ, but only for his symbol, the symbol of death. But suicide is wrong; a man who commits suicide is like a man who longs for a gate to be opened and who cuts his throat before he reaches the gate.

There is an imp in your room, looking with my eyes at you.

Finale: The Hate Talks

There is a foghorn crying out to the ships in the Bristol Channel as an albatross might have cried to the ancient mariner, over Shakespeare's multitudinous ocean on a deep, dark night. I should like to be somewhere very wet, preferably under the sea, green as a merman, with cyclamine crabs on my shoulders, and the skeleton of a commercial magnate floating, Desdemona-wise, past me; but I should like to be very much alive under the sea, so that the moon, shining through the crests of the waves, would be a beautiful pea-green.

I am very often,—especially in such fantastic frames of mind as have entertained me during the last few days—convinced that the angle of man is necessarily inconducive to the higher thoughts. Walking, as we do, at right angles with the earth, we are prevented from looking, as much as we should, at the legendary sky above us and the only-a-little-bit-more-possible ground under us. We can only (without effort) look in front of us and around us; we can look only at things that are between the earth and sky, and are much in the position of a reader of books who can look only at the middles of pages and never (without effort) at the tops and bottoms. We see what we imagine to be a tree, but we see only a part of the tree; what the insects under the earth see when they look upwards at the tree, & what the stars see when they look downwards at the tree, is left to our imagination. And perhaps the materialist can be called the man who believes only in the part of the tree he sees, & the spiritualist a man who believes in a lot more of the tree than is within his sight. Think how much wiser we would be if it were possible for us to change our angles of perspective as regularly as we change our vests: a certain period would be spent in propelling ourselves along on our backs, in order to see the sky properly and all the time; and another period is drifting belly-downwards through the air in order to see the earth. As it is, this perpetual right-angle of ours leads to a prejudiced vision. Probably this was the divine plan, anyway, but I certainly intend to spend more time lying on my back, and will even, if circumstances permit, follow Mr. Chesterton's admirable advice and spend as much time as possible standing on my head.

And so, for the present, I leave you, a short, ambiguous person in a runcible hat, feeling very lost in a big and magic universe, wishing you love and a healthy new year.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Conflagration in the Soul

ALFRED WERNER

"Glorious in conception—unfathomable in knowledge—solitary in power . . . sent as a prophet of God to reveal to men the mysteries of His Universe." Thus did John Ruskin describe England's greatest painter, Joseph Mallord William Turner. Ruskin, barely finished with his studies at Oxford, had first met him when the painter was sixty-five. Turner appeared "highly intellectual, the powers of the mind . . . flashing out occasionally in a word or a look"; Ruskin found him "good-natured" and objected only to the "ill-cut brown tail-coat" his idol wore.

Ruskin was fascinated by the flooding, all-pervasive light that so often fills Turner's oils and watercolors, but admired him as a humble servant of nature, which Turner was not—certainly not in the creations of his last twenty or twenty-five years. It is from this period that the vast majority of the pictures now presented at the Museum of Modern Art in New York have been chosen. (This loan exhibition, "Turner: Imagination and Reality," is made up of ninety-nine watercolors and oils, mostly from three British national collections.) In fact, Turner began to deal with nature so arbitrarily that eventually Ruskin became annoyed with what he termed "nonsense pictures" that were too "unfinished" for his taste.

Early in the nineteenth century, England fostered an army of revolutionary spirits; the "madness" in the writings of Byron, Shelley, and Keats had its equivalent in the paintings of Turner, Blake, and, to a degree, Constable. As outrageous as their behavior often was, their output was even more disturbing. Some of Turner's late watercolors, for example, if shown out of context and without identifying labels, might be deemed to belong to a variety of modern Expressionist schools. Yet the work of Turner, who died in 1851, was never attacked with fists and sticks, as was that of the French rebels who came after him.

Turner, the son of a barber, spent his youth in a dismal part of London; the man whom Ruskin found so "highly intellectual" was largely self-educated. Still, the fates smiled on Turner's beginnings. He was a child prodigy who saw his work exhibited at the Royal Academy when he was only fifteen. Nine years later

he was elected an associate of the Academy and, at the age of twenty-seven, in 1802, a full member. He lectured there as professor of perspective (he was not the most reliable and adequate among his colleagues). In the beginning, when his pictures were still somewhat topographically descriptive, Turner had enough patrons, and the etchings he made of interesting scenes in Switzerland and France were eagerly bought and often reproduced. Yet as he began to move, gradually but certainly, away from Naturalism, as "things" began to disappear and he used color for its own sake, his admirers began to cool. There was something wrong, they felt, with pictures that so arbitrarily played down linear draftsmanship and classical composition.

Unfortunately, his severest critics were not all little men, unable to allow painting any task beyond the accurate reproduction of the whims of nature. Even Hazlitt referred to Turner's paintings as "a waste of morbid strength," and the celebrated portraitist Hoppner complained that Turner "left so much to be imagined" that looking at his pictures was like "looking into a coal fire or upon an old wall."

As one modern British critic put it, "Englishmen are always suspicious of 'Art' with a large 'A,'" and they preferred landscapes painted in the mild still-life manner to Turner's ever bolder simplifications and generalizations. As for the "coal fire," nobody after Bosch and Breughel has given us more dramatic renderings of conflagrations, be they sunrises and sunsets or actual destruction by fire.

There was a matching conflagration in the soul of this unpretentious, unphilosophical, even coarse Englishman who, walking through Europe, his bundle slung on a stick, might have been taken for an ordinary tramp. (In his old age, when he lived alone in obscure quarters in Chelsea, his neighbors regarded him as an impoverished sailor in retirement.) Though his work is imbued with the loftiest kind of poetry, Turner said or wrote nothing of significance or merit. His letters and his Academy lectures can be skipped. His dictum "I do not imitate nature—I improve on it" is too witty to have come from him. The only authenticated statement by him was a rejoinder to a critic's charge that he had never seen such improbable skies as Turner had painted, to which the artist retorted, "Possibly—but don't you wish you could?"

Turner the romantic could. While admiring him for working, after naturalistic beginnings, with "abstract" color combinations and with a chromatic poetry as delicate and subtle as Shelley's, one must also bear in mind that he was a true son of the Romantic Age whose creative spirits sought refuge in a world of dreams, in a kingdom of untrammeled imagination, of unfettered sensibility. The trend toward "abstraction" is suggested in Keats's lines about unheard melodies and in the lament of Germany's romantic poet Novalis: "If only one could write with no particular subject in mind!"

Such sentiments are echoed by Turner, but it must be emphasized

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that he was *not* an abstractionist, that he always kept a foothold in reality. Yet what a precarious grip it often was! His liberation from the drudgery of photographic rendering of what he saw began when he first visited Italy in the year 1819. He returned again and again, and it was Venice in particular that inspired what might be described as poems in color and light.

Turner drew or painted mainly for his own pleasure. Whenever he was forced to sell a picture, he was miserable: "I have lost one of my children today!" He was able to leave England some three hundred unsold oils, and as many as nineteen thousand watercolors and drawings.

His pictures were to him the means of wresting from nature all the secrets it kept from other mortals, its vague and vaporous diffuseness, its lack of quietude and order. On walking tours over Europe, he filled dozens of sketchbooks. As a feeble old man, the eccentric "Admiral Booth" of Chelsea devised a passage from his bedroom to the roof from which he could watch the play of light on the Thames, or could study the effects of dawn and sunset on the sky.

Once, as a younger man, he had himself lashed to the mast of a ship so that he could record with his pencil the awfulness of the storm over waters and sky. He loved to ride trains, still an innovation in his time. A fellow passenger was startled to observe an elderly gentleman suddenly open the window during a torrential downpour and lean out for nearly ten minutes. Filled with curiosity, she followed his example and was duly drenched. Months later, at the Royal Academy, she saw "Rain, Steam and Speed," the fruit of the old man's inexplicable action. She heard a critic say, "Who ever saw such a ridiculous conglomeration?" and was delighted to be able to reply, truthfully, "I did."

"Rain, Steam and Speed," Turner's salute to the new railroad age, is perhaps the most important of his many paintings now at the Museum of Modern Art. I would include it among the fifty most important paintings of the last century. For the first time a painter concerned himself with such an "ignoble" subject, derived from the industrial age, as a train thundering over a bridge. After the picture was exhibited in 1844, three decades passed before another painter, Claude Monet (an avowed admirer of Turner), picked up a related motif in his series of Gare Saint-Lazare impressions. Yet Turner re-creates the swift movement of a monster through a driving rainstorm instead of describing, as did Monet, the locomotive exactly enough to satisfy a railroad worker.

It was the last important picture painted by an Englishman before the very recent renaissance of British art. But in the sense that it stripped objects of their actual outlines and, by a visual metaphor, translated the seen into the unseen, it was also the first modern picture.

Turner, who lived to seventy-six and whose career spanned half a century, leads us into the world of the "nonobjective" even though his supposed unconcern with form and his intoxication with arbitrary color are not the results of a deliberate denial of the outer world. For he had none of the intellectualism or the philosophizing characteristic of the founders of the modern abstract schools of painting. He was a simple-minded pantheist who identified himself with nature, who needed only the quickest notations, in pencil or in watercolor, to remember, back in the solitude of his studio, the things he had seen.

His is an almost Biblical pantheism, and indeed, the Bible, with its plagues, floods, and apocalyptic visions, was the one piece of literature that inspired Turner's interpretations of natural phenomena. The heathen Turner was much closer to the spirit of the Bible than were the very Christian Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Despite Ruskin's frantic efforts to equate Turner's aims with theirs, they did not care for him, and soon pre-empted whatever sympathy he might have commanded from the British public. This genius was "dead" for six or seven decades after his demise. Not until 1938 were a large number of his last sketches placed on view in London. About that time, many pens began to proclaim him a precursor of one modern movement or another, unfortunately with a good deal of exaggeration or distortion. Does it matter, after all, which pigeonhole he rightly occupies in the history of art (though the Museum seems to be very concerned just with this aspect)? What is important is the joy and pleasure and excitement that his amazing work has created.

Walking with a Young Grandson

When Marcus runs I give a leap
And lift him with a swoop and sweep.
He makes a sound that sounds like "beep."

I walk him where the woods are dark,
I show him where the bullfrogs live,
And how the lilies go to sleep.

Sometimes he's very positive;
I want to trot, he wants to creep,
I want to coo, he wants to bark.

He hands me shiny stones to keep.
Our home path draws a laggard arc.
My heart is punctured as a sieve.

I have the good of seven sons
When Marc meanders, skips, or runs.

—CHAD WALSH

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of Human Badinage

GERALD WEALES

In an interview in *Theatre Arts* in 1962, Tennessee Williams told Lewis Funke and John E. Booth how much he admired Harold Pinter's *The Caretaker* and added, "I think my literary or pseudo-literary style of writing for the theatre is on the way out." If his guess is correct, *Slapstick Tragedy*, the Williams double bill recently at the Longacre, may be seen as a lively graveside rite for a dying art. Although the plays have been directed by Alan Schneider, who is best known for his work with Beckett, Albee, and Pinter, they have little relation to the Theatre of the Absurd, as Williams admitted when an earlier version of the two plays was published in *Esquire* last August. The plays may be a little bizarre, but there is nothing unusual about the conjunction of Tennessee Williams and *bizarrerie*, and they are plainly Williams in theme and in some of their devices.

"I think the strange, the crazed, the queer/Will have their holiday this year," the carolers sing at the beginning of *The Mutilated*, the first of the two plays. With these words we find ourselves on familiar Williams ground, for both *The Mutilated* and its companion piece, *The Gnädiges Fräulein*, reflect Williams's lifelong preoccupation with the "fugitive kind." From the crippled Laura in *The Glass Menagerie* to the dying Mrs. Goforth in *The Milk Train Doesn't Stop Here Anymore*, he has drawn a gallery of characters whose strangeness—physical defect, psychological disturbance, artistic sensitivity—sets them off from the ordinary world of placidity and cruelty. For the most part, they are depicted as victims, destroyed by society or devoured by time and their own fears. They find what comfort they can in the momentary company of a physical presence and display their courage by sticking to a struggle that cannot be won. "Give up, did you say?" says Celeste in *The Mutilated*. "An easy piece of advice to give but not to follow." Celeste and her friend Trinket and the titular heroine of *The Gnädiges Fräulein* are members of what, in *The Eccentricities of a Nightingale*, Williams called "my little company of the faded and frightened and difficult and odd and lonely."

To recognize that Williams is writing his play again is not to say that *Slapstick Tragedy* is the artistic equivalent of *A Streetcar Named Desire* or even *The Night of the Iguana*. At best, the two plays provide a fragile evening at the theatre. At worst, which is while

The Mutilated is going on, it can be a trying one. In that play, two old friends, or friendly enemies, spend Christmas Eve trying and failing to find peace on earth for themselves. One of them is Trinket, secretly mutilated; the other is Celeste, a shoplifting, streetwalking wino, who knows and threatens to divulge Trinket's secret. In presenting that secret, Williams (or Schneider) makes a nod in the direction of Pinter and his use of undefined terror. Trinket's mutilation, in the printed play, is stated clearly: she has had a breast removed because of cancer. On stage, the mutilation is not identified although all the indications of it are there—Trinket's nervous hand over her heart, Celeste's flaunting of her ample bosom, Celeste's chant about Sarah Bernhardt's having had just one leg. Since Williams has always used specific physical conditions metaphorically, as with Brick's broken leg in *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, Trinket's uncertain mutilation seems not a nameless Pinterish terror but a simple lack of clarity.

At last, on Christmas Day, the two come back together and, in a haze of Tokay and sugar wafers, have a vision of Our Lady which, as Trinket says, takes away the pain. With the ironic religious experience, the omnipresent carolers chanting their miracle message *a cappella* (music by Lee Hoiby), and some standard Williams comic lines, the whole thing should probably be played much less seriously than it is. Since the familiar Williams message is repeated in every scene, verbally and dramatically, and since Margaret Leighton goes for pathetic effects, which she could probably get if she read aloud from *Consumer Reports*, the result is both monotonous and maudlin.

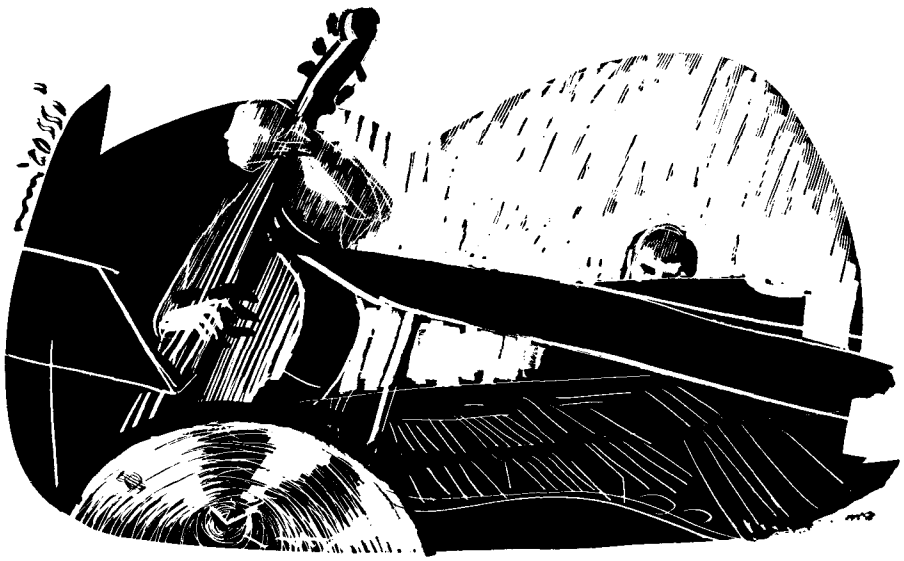
The second play, *The Gnädiges Fräulein*, is another kettle of fish. It is a grotesque comedy in which the heroine, down on her luck, is forced to compete with the cocaloony birds for the fishing-boat rejects that provide her room and board. A decayed artist, recalling Alexandra in *Sweet Bird of Youth*, she is no match for organized parasites like the cocaloonies; the play is the account of how she fights the good fight for survival even though it sends her back to the docks, blind and bleeding, crying, as the cocaloonies do, *awk, awk, awk*. Although her action is the spine of the play, its flesh is the running commentary provided by Polly and Molly, the Greek chorus reduced to a comedy team. Williams has used this device before, as in *Orpheus Descending*, where the two comic sisters comment on the disastrous affair of Val and Lady, but now the comic dialogue has stepped to the front of the stage and the suffering figure is reduced to an almost mute scarecrow, shivering on the periphery of the main set. Williams described Flora and Bessie in *The Rose Tattoo* as "two female clowns"; here, he or Schneider has gone a step farther and made real clowns of Polly and Molly, dressing them in ludicrous clothes and making them up with white faces dotted with red on the nose and

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cheeks. The last moment of the play, the final rush of the heroine while Molly, Polly, and Indian Joe sit down to dinner in the background, should be horrifying: it fails in this production because Schneider has so much busyness among the diners that the audience cannot concentrate on Miss Leighton's awking exit. For the rest, however, Williams wants laughs, and Schneider and his cast go all out to get them. Zoe Caldwell, as Polly, gives a maniacally mannered performance, far the best thing in the show; one would have to go to Geraldine Page, a former Williams heroine, in *The Great Indoors* to find anything comparable this season. Kate Reid plays Molly as a cross between Marjorie Main and Emmett Kelly, as coarse as a cob when she is not momentarily befuddled by events; her mugging works much better here than it does in *The Mutilated*. Margaret Leighton is at a disadvantage as the Gnädiges Fräulein, but particularly when she is singing she manages a loony dignity that the role and the play need. With all this going for him, plus an Indian priapic figure with shoulder-length blond hair and an honest-to-God cocaloony bird (costumes by Noel Taylor), Williams has a play that is funny enough for us to forgive him and Schneider for punching so hard for their laughs.

WHEN the plays were published, Williams suggested that they should be performed on a single program. It is easy to see why. The first is a sad and occasionally brutal play that ends on a note of ironic exaltation; the second is wild slapstick that finishes on a note of horror. As a double bill, the world ends not with Our Lady but an *awk*. " . . . in production," Williams wrote, "they may seem to be a pair of fantastic allegories on the tragicomic subject of human existence on this risky planet."

That they seem a great deal less than this may be the fault of the production or an indication that Williams has fallen short of his intention. If we push aside the freight of significance and take them as simple diversions, a word that Williams has also used to describe them, it is possible to turn away from *The Mutilated* and still take knockabout pleasure in *The Gnädiges Fräulein*.



Mediterranean Götterdämmerung

ROLAND GELATT

WHAT has happened to the post-war Berlioz revival? For a while, the composer's fortunes seemed to prosper. Celebrations in 1953 commemorating the sesquicentennial of his birth and the copious writings of Jacques Barzun focused attention on the man and his music, while the performances of Sir Thomas Beecham and Charles Munch served to exhibit that music at its persuasive best. Today Beecham is dead, Munch is heard only rarely, and Barzun has apparently uttered his last word on the subject. Deprived of their help, the Berlioz boom is running out of steam. Perhaps things will look up again in 1969, when another anniversary—the centennial of the composer's death—gets under way. Meanwhile, the addicted Berliozian must make do with what aid and comfort he can derive from the phonograph.

Even here there are difficulties. Glaring gaps remain unfilled in the Berlioz discography. Still inadequately represented on records is the most ambitious and, some claim, most compelling of his works: the opera *Les Troyens*, an epic music drama in two parts ("The Fall of Troy" and "The Trojans at Carthage") based on Books II and IV of the *Aeneid*. Some years ago the second part of *Les Troyens* appeared on records, but in a poor performance, directed by a conductor insensitive to the Berlioz idiom and sung by a mediocre cast. Now we have a set of highlights from both parts (Angel 3670; two discs, mono or stereo), intelligently conducted and superbly sung, but offering merely a few morsels from the feast.

In a way, the neglect of *Les Troyens* on records should cause no surprise, since it parallels the work's shocking neglect in the opera house. Berlioz was obliged to wait five years for a first production (in 1863, at the Théâtre Lyrique, Paris) and then had to accept a second-rate cast and—what was worse—excessive mutilations of the score. Despite everything, the opera achieved at the time of its unveiling both a critical and a popular success. It ran for twenty-two performances at above-normal prices, and earned fifty thousand francs for the composer when the purchasing power of the franc was at least equivalent to a 1966 dollar. Indeed, the proceeds were sufficient to free Berlioz from the drudgery of newspaper criticism for the remaining six years of his life. Thereafter, however, the fortunes of the opera ran downhill. The world went Wagner-mad, and *Les Troyens*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARE YOU GETTING ONLY THE TOP OF THE NEWS?

News is like an iceberg—you see only a small segment. The greater part spreads out wide and deep beneath the surface. △ To a ship passing by, the unseen part of the iceberg is the most crucial – and to anyone going through the news, the facts that lie beneath the surface are most crucial, too. △ That's why ships need radar to guide them—and that's why you need The Reporter to guide you through the news. △ In reporting major events, The Reporter regularly takes you beneath the surface to show you how deep and how far each event really goes and what shape it finally takes. △ In tracing the origin and the impact of important news this way, The Reporter has made so many discoveries, uncovered so many hidden facts, that it has already won 29 top awards for outstanding journalism. △ So you can see for yourself how much deeper your understanding of the news will be when you read The Reporter regularly, we're offering you a special "new subscriber" rate. With this half-price rate, you can get the next full year of The Reporter for less than a penny a day. You can receive

the next 24 issues for only $3.50 (half price)

This is $4.90 less than you'd pay if you went out and bought these same 24 issues at your newsstand. △ When you read The Reporter *regularly,* you'll realize how much you've been missing in the news... how much additional and *original* information The Reporter brings to the surface... how much more interesting events are when you *know more* about them. △ You needn't send any money—we'll be glad to bill you later, if you prefer. Your subscription—or your friends'—will begin as soon as we receive your order. So why not mail the reply card opposite right now? △ Regular rates: 1 year $7, 2 years $11, 3 years $14. △ Add $1 per year for foreign postage. 50¢ for Canada and Pan American Union. △ *You can take advantage of this special rate to introduce your friends to The Reporter, too. They'll be grateful to you for this unique reading experience, and you'll find that if you talk over with them the lively, thought-provoking articles and opinions you find in the pages of The Reporter, you will double your own pleasure in the magazine.*

THE REPORTER

660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, New York

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was all but forgotten. Though it has been revived sporadically in such unlikely places as Karlsruhe, Odessa, and Glasgow, as well as in Paris and London, the piece has yet to be performed in an American opera house.

ANGEL'S highlights set, which is the closest most of us can come to hearing the music in a proper rendition, offers excerpts of varying length from each of the seven acts that make up the whole. It opens with part of the second scene from Act I. Cassandra, left alone on stage, laments the tragic destiny of Troy in a long-lined threnody bearing the unmistakable Berlioz imprint, and immediately one is struck by the originality of the melodic declamation, the forcefulness of the conception, the marvels of the instrumentation. Next, skipping the encounter between Cassandra and her lover Choroëbus, as well as the imposing panoply that opens Act II and the chilling eyewitness account of Laocoön's death delivered by Aeneas, the record jumps to the triumphal scene that closes the second act. Off in the distance we hear the familiar strains of the Trojan March; and as it gathers force and the populace troops across the stage dragging the wooden horse into the city, Cassandra bewails the folly before her eyes, crying dire warnings above the general clamor. Even on records it is clear that this is one of the great scenes in opera; in stereo it comes across thrillingly, though the recorded performance is blemished by a silly, unmusical cut of eleven measures, those depicting the momentary alarm of the Trojans when a noise emanates from within the horse.

Then, bypassing much important material en route, the record takes us to the finale of Act III and the mass suicide of the Trojan women. Here there is a really disfiguring cut (thirty-five pages of the vocal score) which makes nonsense of the composer's intentions. (No indication is given in the annotations that any of the excerpts have been truncated.) Nevertheless, we have enough to give us at least a notion of the tumultuous and awesome spectacle with which Berlioz closes the first part of his epic opera.

The composer's method in *Les Troyens* is to jump from one pregnant situation to another without connective links. Thus, when "The Trojans at Carthage" opens we are suddenly transported to Dido's palace on the northern shore of Africa. A brilliant *maestoso* chorus proclaims the glories of the Carthaginian queen, who addresses her subjects in an aria of noble and exalted accent, "Chers Tyriens," which could be characterized as Gluck-like were it not for its far richer and more imaginative instrumental accompaniment. (Throughout *Les Troyens* the orchestra never ceases to amaze, no matter whether it holds the center of the spotlight or simply enhances the vocal line with an extra dimension of mood and color.) After a reprise of the chorus, the stage is emptied except for Dido and her sister Anna. An agitated orchestral figure hints at the agitation in Dido's heart (she is thirsty

for love) and leads into a ravishing duet. Whoever believes that Berlioz was short on melodic inspiration should listen attentively to the duo "Sa voix fait naître" and proceed to revise his opinions.

Angel's excerpts sign off just before Aeneas arrives at Carthage, and when the set resumes we are in the midst of the next act and about to experience the climactic Dido-Aeneas love scene, of which Ernest Newman aptly observed that "A man needs to have lived long and suffered much to compass a beauty so wistful and so touched with all its humanities." The long scene is given in its entirety, and it is irresistible over the stereo speakers, particularly the *sotto voce* septet, with Dido's melismatic interjections ornamenting the murmuring melody.

The "Royal Hunt and Storm," which follows, might have been dispensed with. It is well recorded and well played, but there is already the insurpassable Beecham interpretation in the Angel catalogue, and the space might better have gone to something less familiar—for example, the melancholy chant of the sailor boy that opens Act III. As it is, we must content ourselves with no more than a snippet from this act—Aeneas's tormented leavetaking, "Inutiles regrets"—before proceeding to the final excerpt: Dido's furious outburst at the departure of the Trojans and her magnificently resolute and poignant farewell to Carthage and life.

THERE IS very little to fault in the performance of these recorded excerpts. Georges Prêtre conducts with a sensitive appreciation of the thrust and shape of the Berlioz line, and the Paris Opera Orchestra responds well to his direction (though the characteristically wide vibrato of the French brass takes a bit of getting used to). Guy Chauvet has the requisite ringing timbre for the tenor role of Aeneas, and would be even more persuasive if he phrased less stiffly. The soprano Régine Crespin is stupendous in the dual roles of Cassandra and Dido—a bit of vocal moonlighting sanctioned by the composer. She is dramatically impressive throughout, and her singing in the often taxing arias and ensembles could not be more secure or more brilliant.

But the effect of excerpts so well interpreted is to make us ravenous for more. I hope I have made it clear that *Les Troyens* is a masterpiece—not a historical curiosity but a great musical creation, comparable in many respects to the *Ring* cycle of Wagner, though couched in Mediterranean rather than Nordic terms. The fact that it has been so woefully neglected by the opera houses of the world is one of those miscarriages of aesthetic justice which cannot be explained. The role of the phonograph is to repair such injustices. These Angel excerpts are a first step, but what we really need is a complete recording—produced with the care and imagination that has been lavished, say, on *Götterdämmerung*, and without the excision of a single bar. Perhaps we can hope for it before the next Berlioz anniversary.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

When Two Ships Ruled the Waves

AILEEN WARD

THE GREAT MUTINY, by James Dugan. *Putnam's. $6.95.*

In April, 1797, mutiny broke out in the Channel fleet of the British Navy at Spithead and spread within a month to Plymouth, Yarmouth, the Nore anchorage at the mouth of the Thames, and later even to the fleet off the Cape of Good Hope. The sailors' grievances were more than justified: life on ship was worse than in jail. Jammed into damp, unsanitary, unheated quarters, short-rationed on maggoty food by thieving pursers, they were flogged for petty infractions by tyrannical officers, poorly tended when sick, paid miserably and often a year or two in arrears, and denied leave sometimes for twelve years at a stretch. Yet mutiny could not have come at a worse time for Britain. The French armies had overrun Europe, and Britain's allies were going over to the enemy. The country was torn between war weariness and anxiety, what with crop failures, soaring prices, crushing taxes, political repression, and repeated threats of invasion. Even as the sailors began striking for higher wages, an invasion fleet was reported gathering in Holland. At the height of the crisis only two loyal warships stood between Britain and disaster. The undauntable Admiral Duncan sailed them straight to the mouth of the Texel Channel and bottled up the Dutch fleet of ninety-five ships for three days till the wind shifted and reinforcements arrived. A week later the mutiny was over and Britain was saved.

Actually there was not one great mutiny but two, and the contrast between them is dramatic. The outbreak at Spithead was organized by a man of political genius, Valentine Joyce, one of the many "quota men" pressed into the Navy for wartime service, whose superior education and civilian background made them more indignant and articulate about their working conditions than the average tar. Once the red flag was raised, the rebellion was directed by delegates elected from the crews, in an extraordinary combination of democratic government and strict naval discipline. Their petitions were reasonable, respectfully framed but stubbornly pressed. They sent their officers ashore but repeatedly affirmed their loyalty to the King. Two reluctant ships were persuaded to proceed on convoy duty to Newfoundland as per official orders, and the crews turned out to salute the German bridegroom of the Princess Royal, who was brought to inspect the fleet at the height of the uprising. Impressed by the delegates' firmness, the Admiralty finally sent the superannuated hero Lord Howe to negotiate with them. At the end of four weeks the mutiny was over, with important concessions and a blanket pardon wrung from a grudging administration. It was the first successful large strike in history, as well as a remarkable experiment in self-government.

THE OUTBREAK at the Nore started as a gesture of solidarity just as the Spithead mutiny was being settled. From the beginning it lacked the clear-cut aims, the discipline, and the leadership of the first rebellion. One Richard Parker, an ex-midshipman disrated for insubordination, a former schoolmaster and imprisoned debtor, was more or less unwillingly designated president of the fleet, but the power remained with the ships' committees, who insisted on confirming his authority by re-election each morning. Perhaps to conceal their uncertainty, the delegates took a tougher but less realistic line in dealing with the Admiralty. Intransigence called forth intransigence. The sea lords denied the sailor's petitions, cut off their supplies, and sent the militia in. The mutineers replied by blockading the Thames and sending an ultimatum to the King with a threat to take the fleet to France if their demands were not met. The ultimatum was ignored, but when Parker gave the signal for sailing, not a ship obeyed him. At once the mutiny began to collapse, with one ship after another slipping off to surrender under the guns of the remaining mutineers. Parker was captured, tried, and hanged. Thirty-five other men were executed, and perhaps twice as many more were flogged, imprisoned, or transported, out of some four hundred court-martialed. Slowly—much too slowly—the sailors' lot improved: not till 1879 was flogging finally abolished.

THIS is a first-rate yarn, a superb subject for historical analysis, even the germ of a great novel. Melville, in fact, drew several hints for *Billy Budd* from the episode. The story was told some thirty years ago in *The Floating Republic* by G. E. Manwaring and Bonamy Dobrée, with grace, point, and historical perspective, and at half the length of *The Great Mutiny*. This raises the question: what does Dugan add to the story beside merely bringing it back into print? He includes a great deal of social history and political background that his English predecessors found unnecessary, quotes far more fully from the original documents, and makes use of fresh material, the log of the *Comet* discovered in 1963. For most American readers this will be fascinating. But let the buyer beware. Set beside Manwaring and Dobrée's book, Dugan's is a shoddy job: riddled with inaccuracies, sloppily written, and subtly misleading, in the manner of much of our recent non-history history.

Mishandling of fact is a grave charge against a book that seems to be letting the facts speak for themselves. But it is simply not a fact, for instance, that Catherine the Great abolished capital punishment, or that Eton was founded by Cromwell, or that Burke died insane. At the climax of the mutiny a number of Dugan's dates are off by a day—evidently as a result of misreading the *Comet* log. And in describing the reactions of English radicals and intellectuals to the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mutiny, he makes at least a dozen errors in the space of two paragraphs on page 209. One wonders whether these mistakes are merely careless or whether—as in stating that Byron succeeded to his title not in 1798 but at the time of the mutiny (1797)—Dugan is trying to make history seem more dramatic than it is. But if his aim is simply to tell a good tale, he has cluttered up his story line with so much unnecessary matter that the meaning of events is lost, the climaxes are muffled. A kind of factitious vitality is achieved by *Time*-style phrase-making (bribes are "clinking tranquillizers," Burke and Fox are "hypnotic cantors"), while tabloid-style paragraphing slices the narrative into bite-size lengths. And a general tone of Hollywood runs through the portrait of Georgian England, in which history is combed for squalid but mostly irrelevant detail. For instance, to describe Lord Spencer, the Admiralty chief, Dugan tells us that his sister campaigned for Fox by bussing the butchers of Westminster. In contrast, Manwaring and Dobrée mention his expert figure skating—a small matter that suggests a good deal more of the man's character.

AN EMINENT English historian has praised *The Great Mutiny* with fairly faint damns for getting the spirit right even if the facts are wrong. But this is carrying British fair play too far. Life under George III was certainly a mixed bag of blessings, but Dugan is simply mistaken in thinking that eighteenth-century Britain lagged behind rather than led the nations of Europe in political liberty, general enlightenment, and all-round humaneness. He tries repeatedly to attribute the uprising to the influence of Jacobin ideas, Irish spirit, and the American example, but his own evidence is against him.

Actually the sailors were petitioning—an ancient British tradition—for a return to British rights as they had been established in the naval regulations of Cromwell's time. Richard Parker, who emerges as a true tragic hero in Manwaring and Dobrée's account, is a shadowy figure in Dugan's until his trial, when he becomes a symbol of British indifference to injustice. But by the standards of the times, the court-martial was scrupulously fair. Parker himself stated he was legally convicted, though he protested he would "die a Martyr to the cause of humanity." It is this age-old conflict between law and humanity, with all its complex claims and its various possibilities of resolution, that gives this story its depth. James Dugan, in exploring the surface, seems to have missed much of its meaning.

Oranges, Birds And Crystals

SANTHA RAMA RAU

THE CAVE AND THE MOUNTAIN: A STUDY OF E. M. FORSTER, by Wilfred Stone. *Stanford. $8.95.*

E. M. Forster, as many people have had occasion to observe, is a legend in his own time. Knowing him personally and having had the good fortune to receive his permission to dramatize *A Passage to India*, I am probably a biased judge of Wilfred Stone's searching study of his work, *The Cave and the Mountain*. I am automatically prejudiced in favor of anyone who gives such profound attention and scholarship to Forster's writing and credo.

Twenty years ago Lionel Trilling, in his assessment of F[redacted]r's novels, decided that *Howard's End* was, as fiction, the apogee of his talent. Wilfred Stone, professor of English Literature at Stanford University, has quite another view and a totally different approach. He is interested in evaluating something further than a unique novelist's writing. He explores what he calls a "developing myth," Forster's private view of the human predicament in all its complexity, with all its attendant philosophic and social symbology.

He opens his book with an analysis of the various elements of the milieu—personal, intellectual, and cultural—that created a very special outlook. He then continues with a minute examination of all Forster's writing, including the little-known nonfiction about the Middle East, and his broadcasts, essays, and criticism that belong to the period after the publication of *A Passage to India* in 1924, when he stopped writing novels.

Professor Stone's aim is to trace, as his publishers put it, "chapters in a private gospel, of which *A Passage to India* is the consummate expression." It is an enthralling gospel, most vividly expressed in *The Cave and the Mountain*.

The personality that evolved this private gospel was formed by some of the deepest experiences and feelings of English life of a particular period. In addition, Forster's childhood was dominated by two strong factors. As Professor Stone points out, one was his sense of heritage; the other was the overpowering presence of two women: his great-aunt, Marianne Thornton (about whom he later wrote a biography), who provided the money to enable him to become a writer, and his mother, who retained his love but could do little to help him in material ways. His father was dead. These facts in themselves explain the Freudian symbols of Professor Stone's title.

BROUGHT UP in a world of women, he looked back with respect to his heritage, particularly Henry Thornton, his great-grandfather. A leader of what was known as the Clapham Sect, Thornton was dedicated to religious proselytizing and good works: founding missionary societies in Australia, Africa, and the East, establishing Sunday schools, fighting vice and immorality, and "dealing with prisoners, the blind, war widows, foreigners in distress, duelling, brutal sports, Sabbath observance, drunkenness, sedition, and blasphemy." Most important, however, was their campaign against the slave trade, and Professor Stone tells a delightful story of the exchange between William Wilberforce and Henry Thornton on the night in 1834 that Parliament, as a result of the Clapham Sect's agitation, passed the Abolition Bill.

"'Well, Henry, what shall we abolish next?'

"Thornton replied gravely, 'The lottery, I think.'"

All this blends into Forster's sense of morality and what F. R. Leavis calls "a kind of elemental hunger

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER Puzzle

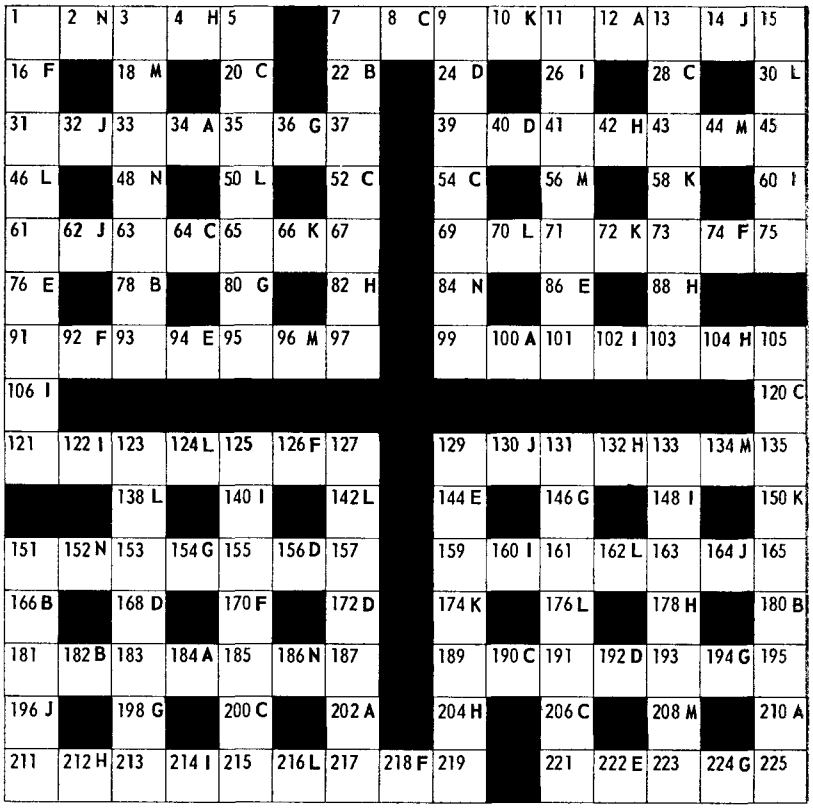
Acrostickler® No.143

by HENRY ALLEN

© 1966 by the Reporter Magazine Company

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym, the other a pun, anagram, or play on words
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person the Acrostician.



A
100 34 12 210 184 202 Withdraw formally.

B
166 78 180 182 22 There's hardly anything so boring.

C
54 8 52 64 206 20 200 28 190 120 Military tyro (3,7).

D
192 172 24 156 40 168 Port in Venezuela (usually with "La").

E
144 94 222 86 76 President of Germany, 1919-1925.

F
218 16 92 170 126 74 Kind of food; simpleton.

G
36 146 198 154 194 224 80 "What mighty conquests rise from _____ things." Pope, "The Rape of the Lock."

H
132 88 4 178 104 42 204 82 212 Shrub Myrica (5,4).

I
122 60 148 140 106 26 160 214 102 British physicist (1850-1925), co-discoverer of the ionosphere.

J
14 32 62 130 196 164 French style of architecture, from the Baroque.

K
66 72 150 10 174 58 Philippine native.

L
124 30 138 50 142 70 216 162 176 46 Electronic device for amplification, etc. (6,4).

M
96 134 56 18 208 44 One of the Greek islands.

N
152 2 84 48 186 One who gathers hay.

ACROSS

1. It has me confused to see harness parts.
7. Tropic leads to maize at last.
31. With 39 across, activity headed by the Acrostician.
39. See 31 across.
61. Corps I have nothing to do with in space.
69. Ma goes, I find, after adult insects.
91. Bitter complaint about the food (3,4).
99. Yesses going up, they say.
121. Beheaded tools give poor housing.
129. Shakespearean character is short up to a point.
151. Overcome a bucket holding a minister.
159. Recline on something, O lupine friend (3,4).
181. Wireless operators on board fore and aft.
189. New England settler who was mostly his last part.
211. Acrobatic feat or where a New Guinea native keeps his trophies?
221. Take a car to this city in France.

DOWN

1. Ship those things. He expects something specific (5,4).
3. Shove off and break the lease (4,3).
5. Put your purse in lower case. There's no objection.
7. Give a false alarm—it's beastly (3,4).
9. Seasoning soft food at first.
11. See Boris, as equal pressure notations are used.
13. Wilder play for our own tour (3,4).
15. Labels as men use them.
105. Atlases or political leaders? (6,3).
123. Pacific islands once a first-class tourist attraction.
125. Save the Marxist. They're the ones who escape.
127. Philippine body of water sounds as though it should be off Africa (4,3).
129. The pole had room on the whirlybird landing strip (slang).
131. Triples the clefs.
133. Deer pap used when you decorated the walls.
151. Passover, chaps!

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for continuance." But Forster continued both the moral and the humanitarian tradition in a very different way. When he moved from the atmosphere of the cloistered Clapham Sect into the freer world of Cambridge and later the Bloomsbury Group, his acquaintance broadened to include G. Lowes Dickinson, Bertrand Russell, G. E. Moore, John Maynard Keynes, Leonard and Virginia Woolf, Raymond Mortimer, Roger Fry, and Vanessa and Clive Bell, to mention only a few. All of them were formative in his developing view of the world, and all were influenced in one way or another by his entirely original talent. Virginia Woolf wrote in her diary: "I suppose I value Morgan's opinion as much as anybody's. . . . Morgan has the artist's mind; he says the simple things that clever people don't say; I find him the best of critics for that reason. Suddenly out comes the obvious thing that one has overlooked." And about her brilliant novel *Mrs. Dalloway*, "Well, Morgan admires. This is a weight off my mind."

But however much Forster was influenced by these people and however influential he was with them, the emerging truth is that he was always, in a way, on the outside looking in. He was not limited to cliques or causes. He was in the process of developing his private gospel—one that found its outlet in his writing.

Professor Stone, in his examination of Forster's work, follows up all the clues from the man's life into his adult statements, fictional or factual, about his philosophic or emotional position. Once, when I asked Forster which of his novels he liked best, he replied that *The Longest Journey* was the one that seemed to him most true, Indeed, as Professor Stone explains, it is the closest thing to (fictional) autobiography; it may well be the favorite by the standard of "most true." Yet other works are better written and explain Forster's philosophy in a far more sophisticated and penetrating manner.

Professor Stone's purpose is to follow Forster's journey into life and thought, and he describes with remarkable sensitivity the two major themes of the early work: a love for the countryside of England and all the history its villages and way of life represent, along with a profound acceptance of the need for progress, for human rights, and the flowering of the nonmaterialist spirit. *Howard's End* is perhaps the best novelistic example, but Forster's own direct statement makes these attitudes even clearer:

"I was brought up as a boy in one of the Home Counties, in a district which I still think the loveliest in England. There is nothing special about it—it is agricultural land, and could not be described in terms of beauty spots. It must always have looked much the same. . . . Life went on there as usual until this spring. Then . . . the whole area had been commandeered. Commandeered for what? Had not the war ended?" Nevertheless, appropriate officials arrived from London to announce that a "satellite town" was to be built there to accommodate sixty thousand people. For the local inhabitants, it was "death in life . . . they move in a nightmare . . . the satellite town has finished them off as completely as it will obliterate the ancient and delicate scenery." Yet Forster's other self says, " 'Why this sentimentality? People must have houses.' They must, and I think of working-class friends in north London who have to bring up four children in two rooms, and many are even worse off than that. But I cannot equate the problem. It is a collision of loyalties. I cannot free myself from the conviction that something irreplaceable has been destroyed and that a little piece of England has died as surely as if a bomb had hit it. I wonder what compensation there is in the world of the spirit, for the destruction of the life here, the life of tradition."

In spite of his intense concern for England and all it meant to him, Forster left his English circle and his recognizable past in his writing, and moved to Italy. In his novel *A Room With A View* (1908), he investigates what Professor Stone calls "sex and sensibility," or more accurately, romance and honesty. From there (although *Howard's End*, [1910], set in England, was written in between), he continued his journeys to the Near East and India.

It was finally in India that the Forster gospel reached its full expression. Struck by the colonial situation that so effectively divided one group of human beings from another, Forster's discerning eye saw, most dramatically, the desperate need for understanding between individuals, and all the social, political, and religious elements that prevented it. In *Howard's End* he had written, "Only connect! . . . and human love will be seen at its height." In India the barriers to connection seemed insuperable, at least for the time being. But in *A Passage to India*, as Professor Stone writes, "The theme which this book hammers home is that, for all our differences, we are in fact *one*. There is no getting out of this, our common boat. Not only are we related, each to each, as persons, but we partake also of the earth, sky, and water, of mud, temples, and bacteria; of oranges, crystals, and birds—and of the unseen as well."

In another way, perhaps Forster again best explains his view of the human predicament. "In the heart of each man there is contrived, by desperate devices, a magical island. . . . We place it in the past or future for safety, for we dare not locate it in the present. . . . We call it memory or a vision to lend it solidity, but it is neither really; it is the outcome of our sadness, and of our disgust with the world that we have made."

Divine Spark

ANDREW M. GREELEY

The Mandelbaum Gate, by Muriel Spark. *Knopf. $5.95.*

The most striking landmark on the Mount of Olives is a building which archaeologists of the future will undoubtedly consider a very important twentieth-century shrine, but which today is merely the Jerusalem Intercontinental. One can sit in its luxurious dining room, eating the best of European foods, and marvel at the splendor of the Old City within medieval walls and the Mount of Zion across the valley of the brook Kidron. Indeed, if one is up on religious legends, one can remember that the valley is also the Valley of Jehoshaphat where the Last Judgment is alleged to be scheduled. One can rejoice that at least the Americans gathered to-

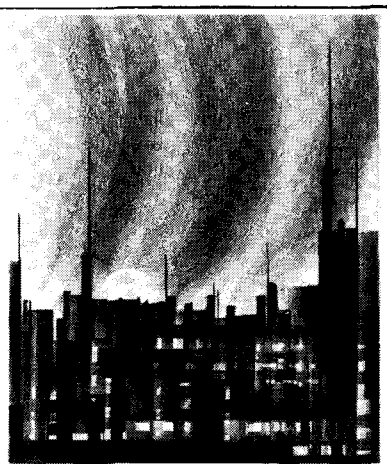
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gether for that event will be able to wait in the Intercontinental with all the comfort that is part of the heritage of the *Civis Americanus* wherever in the world he wanders—though if one is a Christian, one is given pause by the thought that should the Lord return to the spot from which tradition says He departed, the Jerusalem Intercontinental will be quite distinctly on the left or "goats" side of the proceedings.

A luxury American hotel on the Mount of Olives is part of the paradox of Jerusalem; it is simply a city that ought not to be in the modern world. The religious traditions of the past give Jerusalem mythical importance beyond question, but Jerusalem the religious city ought to exist in the same world as does Camelot. For it to have a Zion Gate, a Dung Gate, a Jaffa Gate, a St. Stephen's Gate, and a Damascus Gate is quite acceptable, but it is intolerable that it should have a "Mandelbaum Gate, hardly a gate at all, but a piece of street between Jerusalem and Jerusalem flanked by two huts, and called by that name because a house at the other end once belonged to a Mr. Mandelbaum."

IN WRITING about a "passionate pilgrimage" to Jerusalem, Muriel Spark continues a tradition that dates back at least to the pilgrim Etheria. Like her doughty predecessor Miss Spark is caught by the paradox of the new and the old in Jerusalem, a paradox symbolized physically by the barbed wire and walls separating the Israelis and the Jordanians through which only the Mandelbaum Gate offers passage, but a paradox also clutching at the souls of the passionate pilgrims. *The Mandelbaum Gate* is a novel of Jerusalem, the old and the new, the sacred and the profane, the sublime and the ludicrous. Miss Spark's talent for mixing satire and melodrama is particularly suited for the task she has set herself; in Jerusalem not only does the old become new, the sacred become profane, and the sublime become ludicrous, but exactly the opposite happens, too—especially to those on pilgrimage. And one suspects that such is the case not only in the Jerusalem of Miss Spark but also in all the Jerusalems since David

Collect *Signed Original* Etchings and Lithographs by America's Foremost Artists For more than thirty years ASSOCIATED AMERICAN ARTISTS has given art lovers the rare pleasure and fascinating experience of owning and collecting original works of art for as little as $10. Many of our earlier offerings are now being sold for more than twenty times their original price. Our current catalog offers works by America's most prominent artists including Altman, Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Gross, Hirsch, Kleinholz, Landau, Doris Lee, Margulies, Silverman, Schreiber, and Raphael Soyer.



"Setting Sun" by Richard Florsheim
$10 matted 14" x 18" (plus $1 shipping)

Associated American Artists
605 5th Ave., N.Y. 10017, Studio 53
For free catalog containing 47 different illustrations, send 25 cents for handling.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip ____

WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF

GAMES FOR THINKERS

WFF 'N PROOF: The Game of Modern Logic $6.50
EQUATIONS: The Game of Creative Mathematics $2.75
WFF: The Beginner's Game of Modern Logic $1.50

PERFECT GIFTS FOR THOSE WHO ENJOY BRAIN TO BRAIN COMBAT

IT MAKES YOU THINK

Can you solve this problem?

1. There are three numbered statements in this box.
2. Two of these numbered statements are not true.
3. The average increase in I.Q. scores of those who learn to play WFF 'N PROOF is more than 20 points.

Is statement No. 3 true?

A NEW DIMENSION IN EDUCATIONAL GAMES
by Yale Professor Layman E. Allen

WFF 'N PROOF
Box 71GD New Haven, Conn.
Please send me .....WFF
.....EQUATIONS
.....WFF'N PROOF
I enclose $ ..... and understand that if I am not completely satisfied, I can return the games in 10 days for a full refund of the purchase price.
Name .....
Address .....
City ..... State ..... Zip.....
Refund and return privileges guaranteed!
Dealer Inquiries Invited

WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF

Solution to

THE REPORTER

Puzzle #142

Acrostician—

Peter O'Toole

I	S	H	M	A	E	L	■	C	O	M	I	C	A	L
M	■	E	■	L	■	A	■	R	■	O	■	O	■	A
P	E	R	D	U	■	C	■	A	■	N	O	N	E	S
R	■	E	■	M	O	U	S	M	E	E	■	V	■	T
E	D	G	E	S	■	N	■	P	■	Y	I	E	L	D
S	■	O	■	■	■	A	■	O	■	B	■	N	■	A
S	P	E	C	T	R	E	■	N	E	A	R	T	R	Y
■	■	S	■	R	■	■	■	■	■	G	■	I	■	■
H	E	N	R	Y	I	I	■	T	O	S	S	O	U	T
U	■	O	■	I	■	N	■	R	■	■	■	N	■	O
M	O	T	E	T	■	V	■	O	■	A	V	A	S	T
D	■	H	■	O	M	I	N	O	U	S	■	L	■	A
R	E	I	G	N	■	T	■	P	■	A	V	A	I	L
U	■	N	■	C	■	E	■	E	■	I	■	C	■	E
M	U	G	G	E	R	S	■	R	E	L	A	T	E	D

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The loneliness of a little girl

Her name is Patricia Bright Eagle, a forgotten child with a proud tradition. Patricia's home is made of mud and sticks; her food consists mainly of fried bread and corn.

Like other six-year-old children, Patricia started school this year. It was a frightening experience for her. Able to speak but a few words of English, Patricia suddenly found herself in a world where she became self-conscious and ashamed of her clothes, of her name, of her appearance...of herself. She stays apart, bewildered and lonely.

Patricia will soon learn to speak English, but there are some things school cannot give her, things that the other children have. She needs new shoes, decent clothes, money for school activities and school supplies—and for an occasional luxury such as a bracelet or a small toy. She needs the help of someone who cares... someone to give her the confidence and assurance she needs so desperately to participate in voluntary school and community services.

If not you...who?

You—or your club or office group—can give these things to Patricia or another needy Indian child through SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION. Your contribution of just $12.50 a month will provide a child with funds to buy suitable clothing, books and a cash allowance for school activities.

You will receive a photograph, a case history, and progress reports on the child you sponsor. You may also correspond with the child, so that your generous material aid becomes part of a larger gift of understanding and friendship. Won't you please help?

Founded 1932
SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION
Norwalk, Connecticut 06852

I wish to contribute $150.00 annually to help an American Indian girl ☐ boy ☐
Enclosed is my first payment:
$12.50 a month ☐ $ 75.00 semi-annually ☐
$37.50 a quarter ☐ $150.00 annually ☐
I cannot sponsor a child, enclosed is a contribution of $_____

Name_____
Address_____
City_____State_____Zip No._____

Contributions are income tax deductible. RE 3-24-6

(the "ex-Jewish king," as Miss Spark's Jordanians call him) pitched his tent on Mount Zion.

Miss Spark's atmospheric tour de force is a joy to behold: agnostic Israeli archaeologists, proper British Foreign Office types, secret agents, conniving Arab operators, pious Franciscans ("content to wait for their justification in heaven which, being all-Italian territory, would be so ordered that foreign firebrands... would be kept firmly in their place"), bearded Greek monks, alienated Semitic youth from both sides of the cease-fire line who gather in the cellars of Acre for rock 'n' roll, deadly serious Israeli guides, and scheming Jordanian merchants—all thrown together in a Jerusalem where Eichmann is being tried. But most important is the locale itself—Potter's Field where the smugglers work, Jericho where an Arab intelligence network has its "post office," the Dead Sea Hotel where a Jordanian intelligence agent waits for the heroine, the Via Dolorosa where the mysterious but helpful Alexandros has his shop, the Holy Sepulchre itself where sudden recognitions take place as Greek monks chant their hymns. The intrigue, the romance, the folly of both Jerusalems come alive as Miss Spark's pilgrims move back and forth through the Mandelbaum Gate.

YET *The Mandelbaum Gate* is more than a novel of atmosphere, and the expected comment for a critic to make is that it is a novel of high religious seriousness. Indeed, some critics have argued that Miss Spark has repeated the mistake of Evelyn Waugh and tried to write a serious religious tract in the guise of a novel; hence they are forced to seek out hidden religious symbolisms in Miss Spark's spare and disciplined prose or to wonder whether the heroine's decision to marry her lover outside the Catholic Church if need be represents a disagreement between Miss Spark and religious authority. One suspects that Miss Spark, whose sense of humor is beyond question, must be hugely amused by such foolishness.

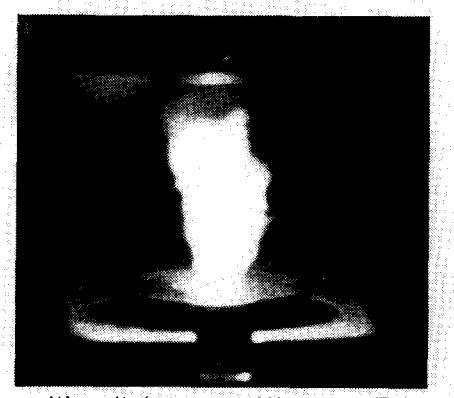
For Miss Spark is essentially a comedian, indeed one of the great comedians currently writing in the English language; and *The Mandelbaum Gate* is the funniest of her novels, funnier even than the madcap *The Ballad of Peckham Rye*. The fact that she is dealing with such sacred items as pilgrimages and shrines in the Holy City of three religions does not dull the edge of her wit. In the final analysis, the paradox of the Holy City is a comic paradox. Man takes his religion with absurd seriousness and then makes an utter fool out of himself in his pursuit of a God who, like Miss Spark, must find it hard not to be amused by the absurdity of human behavior; and in no place is the comic element in man's religions more evident than in Jerusalem. The four passionate pilgrims

are seeking impossible goals in ridiculous and dangerous ways. There is no proportion between behavior and purpose and no relation between religion and behavior. None finds what he is seeking, and by ordinary standards their pilgrimage through the Mandelbaum Gate is a failure. Yet an amused Fate (or Providence)—as guided by Miss Spark—rewards them all in the end with something rather different from what they were seeking, and perhaps a bit better. If she is saying anything profoundly religious, it is that the biggest joke of all is one played by God.

Or perhaps she is merely reaffirming what G. K. Chesterton might have maintained: religion is much too important to be taken seriously. It is only the writer who has no trouble believing who can afford the luxury of laughing at religion and viewing man's behavior toward the Deity as hilariously funny. Because Miss Spark is quite secure in her faith, she can afford to view the Holy City as a comic locale. Graham Greene would not be amused.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One reason lasers are working to keep down phone costs is that Western Electric is part of the Bell System.



It's all because Western Electric is concerned about your telephone rates. Our contribution to keeping them low is keeping down the price of the equipment we make for the Bell telephone companies. And we do *that* by continually searching for better, more efficient ways of doing things.

That's why we've become the first company to apply the laser for mass production purposes.

We use the laser to burn holes in diamonds. We use diamonds as dies in making fine wire. These diamonds are only tiny chips, but drilling holes in them by conventional methods took several days.

The laser can do it in about two minutes.

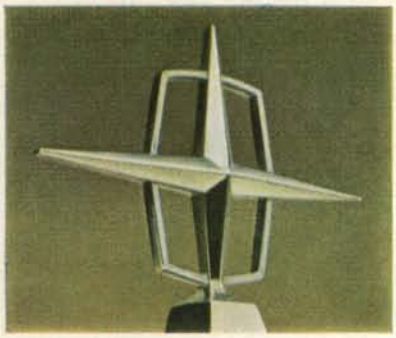
It does it with a beam of light 100 million times brighter than a spot of equal size on the sun. Controlling this beam so that it would make a hole half the size of a human hair exactly where we wanted it took a lot of work. Particularly since an operator cannot directly watch the beam in action. (We solved that problem with closed circuit television.)

This use of the laser will help us save thousands of dollars this year, and more in the future, on wire and cable. But the laser holds the promise of significant savings in many other areas, too. And our engineers are hard at work converting that promise to reality.

Because keeping phone costs low is as important to Western Electric as it is to your Bell telephone company. We're on the same team. We have been since 1882, working together with the same purpose: to keep bringing you the world's finest communications at low cost.

Western Electric
MANUFACTURING & SUPPLY UNIT OF THE BELL SYSTEM

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Lincoln Continental
expresses the excitement of your way of life.

Shown above, America's only four-door convertible. Also available, the Continental sedan and the new Continental coupé, broadening your invitation to ownership. Fo
1966, a new 462 cu. in. engine and a completely new transmission. New luxury options include automatic temperature control system, stereo tape/AM radio, and many other

Lincoln Continental distinguishes you among fine car owners. It is the luxury motor-car that stands apart from all other cars. As an expression of individuality, good taste, accomplishment. As the reflection of a way of life. Come take a closer look: drive it, experience it, and discover for yourself how close you may be to owning a Continental.

LINCOLN *Continental*

Ford LINCOLN-MERCURY DIVISION

America's most distinguished motorcar.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED